LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, August 20, 1938.

No. 2438.

Subject: The Salonika Pact of July 31, 1938, and Greco-Bulgarian Rapprochement.

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The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

SEP 27 1938

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
SEP 22 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, in copy
1/ and translation, an official notification (No. 17891 of August 12, 1938) from the Greek Prime Minister concerning the signature at Salonika, on July 31, 1938, of an Agreement between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, together with the original enclosure thereto, a copy of
2/ the French text of the Agreement, which is identical with that forwarded with my despatch No. 2397 of August
3/ 3, 1938, on the subject; and a copy of my reply, dated August 17, 1938, acknowledging receipt of this communication and stating that I have not failed to bring it to the attention of my Government.

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I also enclose, for the Department's records,
4/ copies and translations of the Official Communiqué published on the occasion of the signing of the Pact,
5/ and of other documents on the subject which have become available subsequent to the date of my despatch referred to above. These include exchanges of telegrams between King Boris and King George II; Mr. Metaxas and Dr. Aras, Foreign Minister of Turkey; and Dr. Kiosséivanov and the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Entente States. Except for the royal messages, these exchanges were not published textually in Greek newspapers.

The Salonika Pact has continued to occupy a great part of the attention of the local press, which, after the exhaustion of its own vocabulary of high praise and joy, has devoted many columns to the reprinting of favorable editorial comment from foreign journals.

On August 20, 1938, the Greek Army marched into the Evros (Maritza) River demilitarized zone, and Alexandropolis (Dedeagatch) was designated as Headquarters for an Army Corps. It was reported that the Turkish Army occupied the opposite side of the River at the same time, and, although there has as yet been no news in the local press, it seems likely that the Bulgarians are also moving up to the frontier.

Meanwhile, the conclusion of the Pact seems to have given a renewed impetus to the movement toward Greco-Bulgarian rapprochement (see my despatch No. 2376 of July 21, 1938). On August 6th it was announced from Sofia that the Bulgarian Government had decided to participate, for the first time, in this year's International

national Trade Fair at Salonika, which will be held from September 11th to October 2nd. This announcement was hailed by the Greek press, which, in the words of the Kathimerini, "sees in the economic collaboration of Bulgaria with the other Balkan States, and particularly with this country, the assurance of an era of prosperity in the Balkan Peninsula".

On August 9th Mr. Costis Bastias, Director of Literature and Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education and Director General of the Royal Theater, left for an extended visit to Sofia to study the organization of the Bulgarian Opera, in view of the projected establishment of a Greek Opera, to see his Bulgarian colleagues, and to arrange for exchange tours of Greek and Bulgarian artists. While in Sofia he has been received not only by leaders in artistic and intellectual circles, but also by the Prime Minister and other political figures. His journey is characterized by local journals as a "national mission to lay the cornerstone of friendship and collaboration in intellectual and cultural matters".

A third announcement worthy of particular notice was made at Salonika on August 10th, to the effect that plans have been completed for a joint conference of the Greek and Bulgarian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, to be held in that city in September of this year. This should aid considerably in the practical development of trade between the two countries under their clearing Agreement concluded last January (see the Legation's despatch No. 2341 of July 1, 1938).

Thus

Thus the work of rapprochement goes actively on. The formal adherence of Bulgaria to the Balkan Entente is being freely predicted, but the more serious observers seem inclined to believe that this step will not come for some time, since it will have to be preceded by solutions to some of the knotty financial, minority, and territorial problems which still remain untouched.

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh.

Lincoln MacVeagh.

Enclosures:

1. Copy and translation of Notification re Salonika Pact, dated August 12, 1938.
2. Copy of the French Text of the Agreement.
3. Reply to Greek Prime Minister dated August 17, 1938.
4. Copy and Translation of Official Communiqué re Salonika Pact.
5. Copies and Translations of Exchanges of Telegrams after the Signing of the Pact.

File No. 710.

FDK/pe

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 2438 of August 20, 1938, from the American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of the Pact between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente.

TRANSLATION

ROYAL MINISTRY
of
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

No. 17891 Athens, August 12, 1938.

Mr. Minister,

I have the honor to request Your Excellency to inform your Government, in its quality as signatory of the Treaty of Neuilly that, having met Dr. George Kiosseivanov, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, at Salonika on July 31, 1938, I signed with him, in my capacity as President in function of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente and duly authorized by the States composing this Council, the Agreement between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

By the Agreement in question Rumania, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece as States members of the Balkan Entente of the one part and Bulgaria of the other part, agree as concerns themselves, to renounce the application of the provisions contained in Part IV (military, naval and air clauses) of the Treaty of Neuilly.

I hasten to transmit herewith to Your Excellency a copy of the text of the above cited Agreement in requesting you to be good enough to forward it to your Government.

Please accept, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my high consideration.

J. METAXAS.

His Excellency,
Lincoln MacVeagh,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of the United
States of America.
Athens.

FDK/pe

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 2438 of August 20, 1938, from the Legation at Athens, Bulgarian-Balkan Entente Agreement of July 31, 1938.

COPY

MINISTERE ROYAL

DES

AFFAIRES ETRANGERES

No. 17891 A/6/2a

Athènes, le 12 août 1938.

Monsieur le Ministre:

J'ai l'honneur de prier Votre Excellence de vouloir bien porter à la connaissance de Son Gouvernement en sa qualité de signataire du Traité du Neuilly, que m'étant rencontré à Thessalonique le 31 juillet 1938, avec S.E. Monsieur le Dr. G. Kiosséivanoff, Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Bulgarie, j'ai signé avec Lui, en ma qualité de Président en exercice du Conseil Permanent de l'Entente Balkanique, et dûment autorisé par les Etats qui composent cette dernière, l'Accord entre l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgarie.

Par l'accord en question, la Roumanie, la Turquie, la Yougoslavie et la Grèce, comme Etats membres de l'Entente Balkanique d'une part, et de l'autre la Bulgarie, conviennent en ce qui les concerne à renoncer à l'application des dispositions contenues dans la Partie IV (Clauses Militaires, Navales et Aériennes) du Traité de Neuilly.

Je m'empresse de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence, copie du texte de l'accord précité, en La priant de vouloir bien la faire parvenir à Son Gouvernement.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma haute considération.

(Signed) METAXAS

SON EXCELLENCE

MONSIEUR LINCOLN MACVEAGH

MINISTRE DES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE

En Ville

/jr

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 2438 of Aug. 20, 1938, from the Legation at Athens, on the subject of the Agreement of July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente.

COPIE

A C C O R D

ENTRE L'ENTENTE BALKANIQUE ET LA BULGARIE. -

Prenant en considération :

Que la Bulgarie est attachée à la politique de raffermissement de la paix dans les Balkans et qu'elle est animée du désir d'entretenir avec les Etats Balkaniques des relations de bon voisinage et de confiante collaboration et

Que les Etats de l'Entente Balkanique sont animés à l'égard de la Bulgarie du même esprit pacifique et du même désir de coopération,

Les soussignés :

Son Excellence Monsieur Jean METAXAS, Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Grèce, en sa qualité de Président en exercice du Conseil Permanent de l'Entente Balkanique, agissant au nom de tous les membres de l'Entente Balkanique , d'une part, et

Son Excellence Monsieur le Dr Georges KIOSSEIVANOFF, Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Bulgarie, d'autre part,

Déclarent au nom des Etats qu,ils représentent que ces Etats prennent l'engagement de s'abstenir dans leurs relations mutuelles de tout recours à la force, conformément aux accords que chacun de ces Etats, a souscrits en matière de non agression, et qu'ils conviennent, en ce qui les concerne, à renoncer à l'application des dispositions contenues dans la Partie IV (Clauses Militaires, Navales et Aériennes) du Traité de Neuilly ainsi que des dispositions contenues dans la Convention concernant la

frontière de Thrace signée à Lausanne le 24 Juillet 1923.-

Fait à Théssalonique, en double exemplaire, le 31 Juillet 1938.

Enclosure No. 3 to despatch No. 2438 of August 20, 1938, from the Legation at Athens, on the subject of the Bulgarian-Balkan Entente Agreement of July 31, 1938.

COPY

Athens, August 17, 1938.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the note of the 12th of August, 1938, by which Your Excellency was good enough to request me to inform my Government, as one of the signers of the Treaty of Neuilly, that at a meeting with His Excellency the President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria in Salonika on the 31st of July, 1938, Your Excellency signed with him, in your quality of President of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente, and by authority from the states composing the latter, the Accord between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

In acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's note I hasten also to assure Your Excellency that I have not failed to bring its contents to the attention of my Government. Kindly accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

His Excellency
Mr. John Metaxas,
President of the Council of Ministers
and Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Athens.

LMacV/jr

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 2438 of August 20, 1938, from the American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of the Pact between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

TRANSLATION

COMMUNIQUÉ

His Excellency Dr. George Kiosseivanov, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, and His Excellency Mr. John Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, in his capacity as President in function of the Council of the Balkan Entente, met today at Salonika and proceeded to the signature of the Agreement between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

The Agreement in question concluded in equality is the happy outcome of negotiations freely undertaken in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding.

It marks an historic step in the relations of the five States and permits the legitimate hope that within a near future this Act will be followed by beneficial developments.

Inspired by the same ideal, attached to the policy of consolidation of the peace in the Balkans, Bulgaria, Turkey, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece undertake the obligation of abstaining from any recourse to force in their mutual relations, in conformity with the agreements which each of these States has signed in the matter of non-aggression, and agree as concerns themselves to renounce the application of the provisions contained in Part IV (military, naval and air clauses) of the Treaty of Neuilly, as well as the provisions concerning the Thracian border, contained in the Convention signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923.

Animated by a desire for understanding and for close and fruitful collaboration in all domains, and desirous of assuring the prosperity of their sorely tried peoples, Bulgaria and the States of the Balkan Entente are resolved to carry on their peaceful effort.

They have no doubt that the Agreement signed today inaugurates a period of security and concord in the peninsula and at the same time brings an important contribution to the fabric of the general peace.

FDK/pe

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 2438 of August 30, 1938, from the American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of the Pact between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

COPY

COMMUNIQUÉ

Son Excellence Monsieur le Dr. Georges Kiosséivanoff, Président du Conseil des Ministres, ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Bulgarie, et Son Excellence Monsieur Jean Metaxas, Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Grèce, en sa qualité de président en exercice du Conseil de l'Entente Balkanique,, se sont rencontrés aujourd'hui à Thessalonique et ont procédé à la signature de l'accord entre l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgarie.

L'accord en question conclu dans l'égalité, est l'aboutissement heureux de négociations librement engagées, dans une atmosphère de cordialité et de compréhension.

Il marque une étape historique dans les relations des cinq Etats, et permet l'espoir légitime, que dans un proche avenir cet acte pourra recevoir de bienfaisants développements.

Inspirés par le même idéal, attachées à la politique de raffermissement de la paix dans les Balkans, la Bulgarie, la Turquie, la Roumanie, la Yougoslavie et la Grèce prennent l'engagement de s'abstenir dans leurs relations mutuelles, à tout recours à la force, conformément aux accords auxquels chacun de ces Etats a souscrits en matière de non agression, et conviennent en ce qui les concerne à renoncer à l'application des dispositions contenues dans la Partie IV (clauses maritimes, navales et aériennes) du traité de Neuilly ainsi que des dispositions contenues dans la convention concernant la frontière de Thrace signée à Lausanne le 24 Juillet 1923.

Animés du désir d'entente et de collaboration étroite et féconde dans tous les domaines, soucieux d'assurer la prospérité de leurs peuples tant éprouvés, la Bulgarie et les Etats de l'Entente Balkanique, sont résolus à poursuivre leur effort pacifique.

Ils ne doutent pas que l'accord signé aujourd'hui inaugure une période de sécurité et de concorde dans la Péninsule et apporte en même temps un appoint précieux à l'oeuvre de la paix générale.

/jr

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 2438 of August 20, 1938, from the American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of the Pact between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: Messager d'Athènes, August 14, 1938.

TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED

From King Boris of Bulgaria to King George II of Greece.

I am happy to address to Your Majesty my most cordial felicitations on the occasion of the signature of the Salonika Agreement and I hasten to communicate to Your Majesty the great joy that I feel in this historic accomplishment which assures to our peoples a prosperous future.

BORIS.

* * * * * *

Reply of King George II to King Boris of Bulgaria.

Cordially thanking Your Majesty for his words which have profoundly touched me, I share with him the great joy that I feel in this historic step which will open an era of prosperity for our peoples.

GEORGE R.

* * * * * *

From Prime Minister Metaxas, at Salonika, to Dr. T. R. Aras, Foreign Minister of Turkey.

SOURCE: Ankara, August 11, 1938.

I am very happy to announce to Your Excellency that I have just signed with Dr. Kiosseivanov, in my capacity as President in function of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente, the Agreement between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, to the conclusion of which you have so greatly contributed. In thanking you very sincerely for your enlightened cooperation, I rejoice in this happy event which constitutes a proof of the attachment of the Balkan Entente to the ideal of peace. The act which we have just signed will mark, I am convinced, the beginning of an era of concord and of confident collaboration of all the States of the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, a collaboration which will be not only the crowning of our efforts for the prosperity of our peoples and the consolidation of the peace in the Peninsula, but also an important contribution to the general fabric of peace.

METAXAS.

* * * * * *

Reply

Reply of Dr. Aras to Prime Minister Metaxas.

I sincerely thank Your Excellency for the friendly telegram you were good enough to send to me on the occasion of the signature of the Agreement between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria. In this accomplishment of peace which will show to the world the true face of the Balkan Entente and will serve the consolidation of its prestige, Your Excellency has presided with the great authority which is habitual with you.

I desire, in the name of the Government of the Republic and in my own name, to express to Your Excellency my warmest and most sincere felicitations. I agree entirely with your conviction that the important act signed yesterday will mark the beginning of an era of concord and confident collaboration between all the States of the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, in forming thus, within the framework of the consolidation of the peace in the Peninsula, an efficacious contribution to the general fabric of the peace.

ARAS.

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Reply of Prime Minister Metaxas to Dr. Aras.

I warmly thank Your Excellency for your friendly reply to my dispatch announcing the signature of the pact between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, as well as for your courteous words concerning me which Mr. Raphael has just transmitted to me. I should like now to congratulate you for the role that you personally have played in this event so happy for the Balkans. Your Excellency who was from the first moment one of the great animators of this policy and who had faith in it, knew how, by your valuable mediation, to put it on the way toward realization.

With the most profound expression of my friendship.

METAXAS.

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From Dr. Kiosseivanov, Bulgarian Prime Minister, (from Salonika), to the Foreign Ministers of Rumania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

SOURCE: La Parole Bulgare, August 7, 1938.

I am very happy to announce to Your Excellency that Mr. Metaxas, in his capacity of President in function of the Council of the Balkan Entente, has just signed with me the agreement between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente to the conclusion of which you have so greatly contributed. In thanking you very sincerely for your enlightened cooperation, I rejoice in this Agreement; a happy event which constitutes a new proof of the attachment of the Balkan States to the ideal of peace. The Act which we

have

have just signed will mark, I am convinced, the beginning of an era of concord and of confident collaboration between Bulgaria and the States of the Balkan Entente, a collaboration which will be not only the crowning of our efforts for the prosperity of our peoples and the consolidation of the peace in the Peninsula, but also an important contribution to the general fabric of the peace.

KIOSSEIVANOV.

* * * * * * *

Reply of Mr. Comnène, Rumanian Foreign Minister.

The sentiments that Your Excellency is good enough to express in your telegram which has just now arrived have profoundly touched me. I share them without reserve as respects Your Excellency and your country. The Act that we have just signed at Salonika constitutes a new testimony of the happy state of mind which reigns in the Balkans. The presage of a new era of sincere and cordial collaboration. The Rumanian people is happy to give in this historic hour to the Bulgarian people a striking proof of friendship which opens new horizons in our relations and brings back noble and ancient traditions.

COMNENE.

* * * * * * *

Reply of Dr. Aras, Foreign Minister of Turkey.

I sincerely thank Your Excellency for the friendly telegram that you were good enough to send me from Salonika on the occasion of the happy event of the signature of the Agreement between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria. I wish on this occasion to express to Your Excellency in the name of the Government of the Republic and in my own name the warmest felicitations and to express at the same time all the satisfaction that I feel in seeing the opening of a new era of confident collaboration between Bulgaria and the States members of the Balkan Entente. The spirit of mutual understanding of which the five Balkan States have shown proof has given birth to an accomplishment which, I am convinced, will bring an important contribution to the fabric of the general peace by the consolidation of the peace and confident collaboration in the Balkan Peninsula.

DR. ARAS.

* * * * * * *

Reply of Dr. Stoyadinovitch, Yugoslav Prime Minister.

At the moment when you are proceeding to the signature of a Pact which marks a new epoch in the history of the Balkan countries, I desire to emphasize how much I am with all my heart in favor of this policy of rapprochement and friendship. Very cordially yours,

STOYADINOVITCH.

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Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 2438 of August 20, 1938, from the American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of the Pact between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

COPY

SOURCE: Messager d'Athènes, August 14, 1938.

TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED

From King Boris of Bulgaria to King George II of Greece.

Je suis heureux d'adresser à Votre Majesté mes félicitations les plus cordiales à l'occasion de la signature de l'accord de Salonique et je m'empresse de partager avec Votre Majesté la grande joie, que j'éprouve de cette oeuvre historique, qui assure à nos peuples un avenir prospère.

BORIS

* * * *

Reply of King George II to King Boris of Bulgaria.

Remerciant cordialement Votre Majesté de ses paroles qui m'ont vivement touché, je partage avec Elle la grande joie que j'éprouve de cette étape historique, qui ouvrira une ère de prospérité à nos peuples.

GEORGE R.

* * * *

From Prime Minister Metaxas, at Salonika, to Dr. T.R. Aras, Foreign Minister of Turkey.

SOURCE: Ankara, Aug. 11,1938.

Je suis très heureux d'anoncer à Votre Excellence que je viens de signer avec M. Kiosseivanov en ma qualité de Président en exercice du conseil permanent de l'Entente Balkanique, l'accord entre l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgarie à la conclusion duquel vous avez si grandement contribué. En vous remerciant très vivement de votre concours éclairé, je me réjouis de cet heureux événement qui constituera une preuve de l'attachement de l'Entente Balkanique à l'idéal de la paix. L'acte que nous venons de signer marquera, j'en suis convaincu, le début d'une ère de concorde et de confiante collaboration entre tous les Etats de l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgaria, collaboration qui sera en même temps que le couronnement de nos efforts pour la prospérité de nos peuples et le raffermissement de la paix dans la péninsule, une contribution précieuse à l'oeuvre générale de la paix.

METAXAS

Reply of Foreign Minister Aras to Prime Minister Metaxas.

Je remercie vivement Votre Excellence de l'aimable télégramme qu'Elle a bien voulu m'envoyer à l'occasion de la signature de l'accord entre l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgarie. A cette oeuvre de paix qui marquera dans le monde la véritable figure de l'Entente Balkanique et servira au raffermissement de son prestige Votre Excellence a présidé avec la grande autorité qui lui est habituelle.

Je tiens au nom du gouvernement de la République et en mon propre nom à exprimer à Votre Excellence mes plus vives et chaleureuses félicitations. Je m'associe entièrement à votre conviction que l'acte important signé hier marquera le début d'une ère de concorde et de confiante collaboration entre tous les Etats de l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgarie en formant ainsi dans le cadre de raffermissement de la paix dans la péninsule une contribution efficace à l'oeuvre générale de la paix.

D. ARAS.

* * * *

Reply of Prime Minister Metaxas to Dr. Aras.

Je remercie vivement Votre Excellence pour son aimable réponse à ma dépêche annonçant la signature du pacte entre l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgarie ainsi que pour ses paroles courtoises à mon égard que Monsieur Raphaël vient de me transmettre. Je voudrais maintenant vous féliciter à titre particulier pour votre rôle personnel dans cet événement si heureux pour les Balkans. Votre Excellence qui dès le premier moment fut parmi les grands animateurs de cette politique et qui eut foi en elle sut par sa précieuse médiation la mettre dans la voie de réalisation.

Avec mes amitiés les plus profondes.

METAXAS

* * * *

From Dr. Kiosseivanov, Bulgarian Prime Minister, (from Salonika), to the Foreign Ministers of Rumania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

SOURCE: La Parole Bulgare, August 7, 1938.

Je suis très heureux d'annoncer à Votre Excellence que M. Metaxas, en sa qualité de président en exercice du conseil de l'Entente Balkanique, vient de signer

avec

avec moi l'accord entre la Bulgarie et l'Entente Balkanique, à la conclusion duquel vous avez si grandement contribué. En vous remerciant très vivement de votre concours éclairé, je me réjouis de cet accord: heureux événement qui constitue une nouvelle preuve de l'attachement des Etats balkaniques à l'idéal de la paix. L'acte que nous venons de signer marquera, j'en suis convaincu, le début d'une ère de concorde et de confiante collaboration entre la Bulgarie et les Etats de l'Entente Balkanique, collaboration qui sera, en même temps que le couronnement de nos efforts pour la prospérité de nos peuples et le raffermissement de la paix dans la Péninsule, une contribution précieuse`a l'oeuvre générale de la paix.

KIOSSEIVANOV.

* * * * *

Reply of Mr. Commène, Rumanian Foreign Minister.

Les sentiments que Votre Excellence veut bien m'exprimer par son télégramme que je reçois à l'instant même, m'ont profondément touché. Je les partage sans réserve à l'égard de Votre Excellence et de votre patrie. L'acte que nous venons de signer à Salonique constitue un témoignage nouveau de l'heureux état d'esprit qui règne dans les Balkans, présage d'une ère nouvelle de sincère et cordiale collaboration. Le peuple roumain est heureux de conner à cette heure historique au peuple bulgare une preuve éclatante d'amitié qui ouvre des horizons nouveaux à nos rapports et reprend aussi de nobles et vieilles traditions.

COMMENE.

* * * * *

Reply of Dr. Aras, Foreign Minister of Turkey.

Je remercie vivement Votre Excellence de l'aimable télégramme qu'Elle a bien voulu m'adresser de Salonique à l'occasion de l'heureux événement de la signature de l'accord entre l'Entente Balkanique et la Bulgarie. Je tiens à cette occasion à exprimer à Votre Excellence, au nom du gouvernement de la République et en mon propre nom, les félicitations les plus chaleureuses et à lui dire en même temps toute la satisfaction que j'éprouve à la pensée de voir s'ouvrir une nouvelle ère de collaboration confiante entre la Bulgarie et les Etats membres de l'Entente Balkanique. L'esprit de compréhension mutuelle dont ont fait preuve les cinq Etats balkaniques a donné naissance à une oeuvre qui apportera, j'en suis convaincu, une contribution précieuse à l'oeuvre de la paix et une confiante collaboration dans la péninsule balkanique.

DR. ARAS.

Reply of Dr. Stoyadinovitch, Yugoslav Prime Minister.

Au moment où vous procédez à la signature d'un pacte qui signifie une nouvelle époque dans l'histoire des pays balkaniques je tiens à souligner combien je suis de tout mon coeur pour cette politique de rapprochement et d'amitié. Bien cordialement à vous,

STOYADINOVITCH.

/jr

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, August 20, 1938.

No. 492.

EU
A/11

Subject: Departure of Foreign Minister Comnen for Little Entente Conference at Bled.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 8 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1938 SEP 6 PM 3 56
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

Rating	Distribution Instructions
Grade for	

770.00/577

770.02

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
SEP 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Foreign Minister Comnen, accompanied by his family and several Foreign Office officials, left Bucharest today for Bled, to represent Rumania at the Conference of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente scheduled to open there tomorrow.

Bucharest speculation as to the nature of the discussions to take place at Bled has been based mainly on the wealth of new problems created by the Anschluss, which carries fresh importance to the Danubian area, and on the impulse afforded by the recent Salonika accord

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to the knotty problem of an approach to Hungary. The press also mentions that the Conference will give its attention to the common attitude to be maintained at the forthcoming session of the League of Nations and to the evolving status of the Danubian waterway, with particular reference to the recent modification of the Statute of the European Commission of the Danube (see separate despatch). Some stress is placed on reports received here that representatives of other countries, notably the Ministers of Italy and Hungary, will be in attendance at Bled.

The Presidency of the Permanent Council passes at the Bled meeting from Foreign Minister Comnen to Premier and Foreign Minister Stoyadinovitch.

Surmise here as regards the later meeting, in September, of the Economic Council of the Little Entente at Split is that discussions will hinge mainly on maritime navigation, railway tariffs, and other communications problems.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

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CKH:EMS.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1938 SEP 6 PM 2 08

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Istanbul, Turkey,

August 23, 1938.

No. 795

SUBJECT: The Salonica Agreement and the European Situation.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 7 - 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

770.00/578

770.00
note

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A.M.C.
SEP 22 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

To the Field
Copy to M.I.D.

SEP 27 1938

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

770.00/562

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 782 of August 10, 1938, with regard to the agreement concluded at Salonica on July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria
1/ and the States of the Balkan Entente, and to enclose a copy of a memorandum of a conversation with Dr. Aras, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he related how this agreement had been brought about. In referring to Bulgaria's enlightened and friendly attitude

towards

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towards the Turks within its borders as explaining President Atatürk's desire to be of special helpfulness to that country. Dr. Aras had undoubtedly in mind the steps taken by the Bulgarian Government during the past year to meet certain wishes of the Turkish Government in respect to the Turkish minority schools in Bulgaria such as the use of the new alphabet in the teaching of Turkish instead of the old, to which the Turkish Government greatly objected (Embassy's despatch No. 497 of January 24, 1938). 874.4016/40

757d.00

Dr. Aras referred to the plan of disarmament proposed by the Oslo Group of powers and said that the Turkish Government considered that this proposal was impractical and premature at the present time. Turkey felt that it was more practical to devote one's efforts to averting or postponing any dangerous political developments in the hope that, if peace could be kept for another few years until a new equilibrium of force had been reached, there might be occasion for a stand-still, which would naturally be followed by a reduction, in armaments.

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMURRAY.

Enclosure:

1/ - Copy of Memorandum of Conversation dated August 19, 1938.

Copies sent to American Embassies at Paris and London;
Copies sent to American Legations at Sofia, Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Budapest;
Copy sent to American Consulate, Geneva.

710/855
RFK:mej

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 783 dated August 23, 1938, from the American Embassy at Istanbul, Turkey.

COPY

Istanbul, August 19, 1938.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: The European Situation.

PARTICIPANTS: H. E. Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Aras,
Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Ambassador.

PLACE AND DATE OF CONVERSATION: Pera Palace Hotel,
August 18, 1938, at
12:30 p. m.

Upon my offering Dr. Aras my congratulations upon the conclusion of the Agreement of July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente, he volunteered, in strict confidence, the following account of how this Agreement had been brought about:-

At the Stresa Conference, in 1934, at the instance of Mussolini, the British, French and Italian Governments agreed to suggest in the appropriate quarters that occasion might be found to relieve Bulgaria and Hungary from the military restrictions of the Treaties of Neuilly and Trianon, respectively. As regards Bulgaria, this suggestion had been communicated at the time to the Governments of Turkey and the other Balkan States, for their consideration at an opportune time.

Early in the present year, in pursuance of the Turkish Government's general policy of conciliation and good understanding among the Balkan States, and under the particular impulsion of an expression by President Atatürk of his desire to take any opportunity that might present itself to be of especial helpfulness to Bulgaria, in view of that country's enlightened and friendly attitude towards the

Turks

Turks within its borders, Dr. Aras had recalled the suggestion which had originated at Stresa and set himself to sounding out the possibilities of giving effect to it. He accordingly found means of informal consultation with the directors of the foreign policies of Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia; and upon his ascertaining that they were favorably disposed, the matter was more formally though still confidentially broached and discussed among the four members of the Balkan Entente. He thereupon found means of conveying this suggestion informally to King Boris and the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, whom he found wholeheartedly receptive. Having put the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Kiosseivanov, into touch with the Greek Prime Minister, Metaxas, as the representative of the members of the Balkan Entente, Dr. Aras withdrew from further personal participation in the negotiations. The representatives of both Bulgaria and Greece had handled the matter with great skill, and in an atmosphere of entire good will; and they had found it possible to conclude the Agreement before any inkling of the project had become known to any but those immediately concerned.

Whether intentionally or not, Dr. Aras was not altogether clear in his reply to a question as to the mode of obtaining the assent, on the part of other signatories of the Neuilly Treaty, to the nullification of the military clauses of that Treaty. He gave me to understand, however, that the assent of the principal signatories, Great Britain, France and Italy, had been assured in advance by their action at Stresa; and that, with their good will and cooperation, the obtaining of

assent on the part of the other signatories had presented no difficulties.

Remarking that the recent Agreement had effectively disposed of the Bulgarian problem as a menace to the peace of Europe, Dr. Aras went on, with a further injunction of strict confidence, to say that Turkey looked forward to the opportunity of having perhaps some small influence in bringing about a settlement of another menacing European question, that of Hungary. He said that the states of the Little Entente had recently reached the decision among themselves, and would soon propose to Hungary, an arrangement similar in substance to that which the Balkan Entente had just arranged with Bulgaria. Turkey, as an associate in the Balkan Entente with two of the members of the Little Entente, had been kept au courant with this project, and was happy to believe that her good relations with the several nations concerned might enable her to exercise some influence in encouraging an understanding. He incidentally made the statement that, although the idea had originated with King Carol, he had happily had the opportunity of encouraging the adoption by Rumania of the recent law on minorities, which had already considerably mollified the attitude of Hungary towards Rumania.

He said further that the Oslo Group of powers, which had recently considered taking the initiative in proposing a plan of disarmament, had decided first to concert with the states of the Baltic Group and with the Balkan Entente. Dr. Aras expressed the view of the Turkish Government (which he implied was a view which Turkey's associates in the Balkan Entente might be expected to share) that this idealistic proposal of the Northern nations was impractical

and

and premature at a time when the great powers are carried on by the impetus of their rivalry for a commanding military position, and while there still exist such dangerously explosive situations as those of Spain, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. He said that, while fully sharing the ideals which the Northern nations have in view, the Southern peoples, with their feet more firmly set on the earth, felt it was more practical to exert every effort to avert or at least to postpone any dangerous political development, in the hope that, if the peace could be kept for another few years (say until 1940 or 1941), until a new equilibrium of force had been reached, there might be occasion first for a stand-still, which would naturally be followed by a reduction, in armaments. He expressed himself as actually optimistic that this result might be brought about, with a considerable period of tranquillity to ensue. He then offered the observation that the British Government, although quietly and inconspicuously, was nevertheless working zealously and with great wisdom and skill to influence in that direction the development of the various dangerous situations on the Continent; and he added that, if that fortunate result should indeed be reached, it would be 40% due to the fear and horror of war on the part of the peoples of Europe, but 60% due to the sagacity of the British Government.

Dr. Aras then developed along the familiar lines his thesis that Turkey can best contribute to the peace which all desire (1) by avoiding any situation likely to increase the tension between the opposing groups of major powers, and (2) by taking advantage of any opportunity to

exert a helpful influence in reconciling any of the antagonisms that exist in various parts of Europe. As to the first of these points, he reiterated that Turkey was especially on guard against becoming involved with any "ideological front" or other alignment of powers. It was not that the Turkish Government had had no opportunities to identify its interests with those of stronger nations -- on the contrary, it had received offers and inducements from various quarters. But it was a profound conviction on the part of the Turkish Government that their aligning themselves with any group of powers would tend inevitably to embroil the situation and create new difficulties and dangers. As to the second point, he once more expressed his belief that by its scrupulous observance of obligations, its renunciation of the spirit of Irredentism, and its consistency in maintaining relations of good will and helpfulness with other countries, the Turkish Republic had built up for itself a respect and prestige disproportionate to its rather meagre material resources; and he felt that, even though one of the smaller powers, his country is actually in the position of being an influence for good.

MacM.

Copy sent to Ankara.

MacM:KOS

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
1938 SEP 6 PM 2 08

796

No. 796

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Istanbul, Turkey, August 23, 1938.

Subject: Turkish Occupation of former Demilitarized Zone in Thrace.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 7 - 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
SEP 27 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

To the Field
I. L. A.
Copy to M.J.O.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

SEP 27 1938

770.00/562

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 782 of August 10, 1938, particularly to the comments regarding the renunciation in the Salonica Agreement of the convention respecting the Thracian frontier which was signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923. Turkish troops entered Edirne (Adrianople) on August 20, 1938, and it is reported in the press that they were received by the population with appropriate acclaim. The Embassy has seen no other notice in the press regarding the occupation of the former demilitarized zone in Thrace.

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMURRAY.

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SEP 29 1938

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

Division of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS SEP 17 1938 Department of State

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (C)

FROM GENEVA

Dated September 15, 1938

Rec'd 9:55 p.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE SEP 16 1938 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS SEP 16 1938 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State

Washington

200, September 15, 11 p.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

770.00

I am informed in strict confidence by a member of the Yugoslav delegation that at a meeting of the Council of the Balkan Entente this afternoon the following subjects were on the agenda:

One. International Situation. It was unanimously agreed that the situation in the countries of the Balkan Entente remained perfectly calm and that the governments were following a policy of peace and appeasement. I was told that as regards the report that the British will make some statement in the Assembly in favor of making Article XVI temporarily optional Yugoslavia was agreeable to the weakening of Article XVI. As regards a report that the British were fighting some suggestion for the possible strengthening of Article XIX of the Covenant, however, my informant stated that this had been vigorously opposed and that any such suggestion would bring forth a sharp retort from Yugoslavia. He added that this had been conveyed to the British and that he did not think that the question of Article XIX would be raised. My informant said

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said that he was convinced that the Rumanians had recently had conversations respecting the passage of Russian troops through Rumania.

Two. League of Nations. It was decided that under present conditions the League could do no positive work but should do nothing negative and that if possible a purely neutral attitude should be adopted toward any questions capable of raising difficulties. The question of China and Spain were discussed and a neutral position was decided upon.

Three. The question of the ratification of the Saloniki accord was discussed.

Four. The question was also discussed of raising the status of ministers in the Balkan states to Ambassadors. This was left to the discretion of each individual state.

Five. In considering a suggestion from Norway that the countries of the Balkan Entente address an appeal to the great powers to reduce their armaments, it was agreed that this was an excellent idea in principle but that there was nothing that could be accomplished in this direction at the moment.

Six. With regard to the question of elections to the new council it was decided to support the candidacy of Yugoslavia.

In discussing the present European situation my informant expressed the personal opinion that the chances for peace had greatly improved as a result of Chamberlain's visit to Hitler but probably at the expense of Czechoslovakia.

BUCKNELL

NPL:EMB

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

September 19, 1938.

Summary of despatch no. 1109 from Embassy at London dated September 1, 1938.

Subject: Danubian Subjects

The Bulgarian Minister in London, Mr. Momtchiloff, in a conversation with Mr. Millard, expanded on various Danubian problems. He thought that Hungary had been on the whole very clever to make the Bled agreements, as it was now to a certain extent in a position to bargain with Germany. The latter country, he said, despite a pretense at being pleased, did not like the fact that Hungary had arrived at an agreement with Czechoslovakia and Rumania, as Germany would have preferred for Hungary to have negotiated an agreement with Yugoslavia alone. In this relation, he said that the trade of Hungary and Yugoslavia is complementary, but that little could be done to benefit trade relations between Hungary and Rumania.

Mr. Momtchiloff did not disguise his concern as to the possibilities of Germany's use of the Danube for economic and military

penetration

penetration of the Balkans. He questioned Rumania's wisdom in assuming alone the control of the lower reaches of the Danube which lie within its territory. Rumanian pride had been satisfied, but embarrassing situations may later arise for Rumania to assume alone. The proposed German flotilla would eventually confront Russia, and Germany might well wish to establish a submarine base at Constanza with a possibility of Russian counter measures, and the Minister even visualized the bombardment of Constanza, Varna and Bourgas.

In connection with Danubian river traffic, he said that it is much cheaper today to ship freight up the Danube, even as far as Bordeaux, with the long over-land train haul than to send it around by sea. With improved German canal facilities it will be still more advantageous for the Balkans to use the Danube, thus increasing their dependence on Germany.

As regards the possibility of a British loan to Bulgaria, similar to the recent Turkish loan, the Minister did not think that anything worth while for Bulgaria could be accomplished in this way as such a loan would be more political than economic and of a temporary nature; it would also increase Bulgaria's indebtedness.

Concerning

Concerning armaments, he said that Bulgaria buys arms from Czechoslovakia, and in passing remarked that Creusot made a regular practice of filling orders in Czechoslovakia rather than in France, not only because of French labor troubles and a larger margin of profit, but because of the better quality of Czechoslovak workmanship.

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

LONDON, September 1, 1938.

Assistant Secretary of State OCT 11 1938 MR. SAYRE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS MR. DUNN SEP 29 1938 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 1109.

SUBJECT: The Bled Agreements, the Danube and Bulgarian Loans.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS SEP 17 1938 file Cor DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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CONFIDENTIAL

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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Rating: Grade for

Distribution Instructions: ONI MID) in confidence

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

OFFICE OF THE ADVISER ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS OCT - 4 1938 DEPARTMENT OF STATE SEP 27 1938

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 1096 of August 31, 1938, enclosing a memorandum of a conversation with a Foreign Office official regarding the Bled agreements and certain other kindred matters, I have the honor to enclose herewith a memorandum of a conversation between the Bulgarian Minister in London and a member of the Embassy's staff concerning these agreements, the question of the control of the Danube and the possibility of a British loan to Bulgaria.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE SEP 21 1938

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Herschel V. Johnson

Herschel V. Johnson
Counselor of Embassy.

1 copy for notes

Enclosure:
1. Memorandum in quintuplicate.

HM/JC

No. carbon copies rec'd in A-S Oct. 11, 1938, E.S.
..... carbon copies out of A-S

FILED OCT 12 1938

FP

Enclosure No.1 in despatch No.1109 of September 1,1938
from the Embassy at London, England.

MEMORANDUM

I called this morning on the Bulgarian Minister and in the course of our conversation he made the following remarks regarding the Bled Agreements.

Mr. Momtchiloff said that while Hungary's position is, of course, an extremely difficult one, on the one hand looking to Germany to restore her lost territory and population, and on the other increasingly under the shadow of Germany since the Anschluss, he thought that Hungary had on the whole been "very clever" to make the Bled Agreements. Hitherto Hungary had been almost wholly dependent on Germany and now Hungary was to a certain extent "in a position to bargain with Germany."

Asked what he thought Germany's real attitude was to the Bled Agreements, Mr. Momtchiloff said that though Germany, of course, officially had to pretend to be pleased that her wartime ally was permitted to rearm, Germany certainly did not like the Hungarians arriving at an agreement with Czechoslovakia and Rumania. He said that Germany would have been very glad had Hungary negotiated an agreement with Yugoslavia alone. In this relation, he said that the difficulties in the way of a real agreement between Hungary and Yugoslavia were considerably less than in the case of Hungary and the other two members of the Little Entente, not only as regards minorities but especially since, to a certain extent, the trade of Hungary and Yugoslavia is complementary. While there were also possibilities in this connection as regards a mutually beneficial trade relationship between Hungary

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and Czechoslovakia, there was very little that could be done along these lines between Hungary and Rumania.

Returning to the relationship between Hungary and Yugoslvaia, he said that it was, of course, very important for Germany to have the banks of the Danube held in friendly hands, if not in those of allies at least in those of benevolent neutrals. For obvious reasons, Germany wished to exclude all non-riparian powers from the Danube commissions. Conversely, the Danubian States feared being left alone with Germany. In this conversation, as in one on August 5 (see Embassy's despatch No. 951, August 6, 1938), Mr. Momtchiloff referred frequently to the problem of the control of the Danube and did not disguise his concern as to its use by Germany for economic and even military penetration of the Balkans. He questioned the wisdom of Rumania, a short time ago, assuming alone the control of the Danube from Braila to the Black Sea. He said that this independent exercise of sovereignty over the Danube passing through Rumanian territory only, was naturally pleasing to Rumanian pride, but with this went the responsibility for Rumania alone to make decisions which may be extremely embarrassing. He assumed that if Germany could, she would sooner or later create a Danube flotilla and by this and other means endeavor to push her way down the river, and eventually confront Russia. Presumably, in such an event, Germany could wish to establish a submarine base at Constanza. By the same token to prevent this the Russian Black Sea fleet would in all probability take counter measures and he could easily foresee the shelling by the Russian fleet of

Constanza

Constanza, (and the Bulgarian ports of Varna and Burgas for that matter).

I asked the Bulgarian Minister whether there was anything which he could tell me regarding the possibility of a British loan to Bulgaria similar to the £16 million loan to Turkey, and whether there was any real prospect, in this manner, of appreciably altering the preponderantly German character of Bulgarian foreign trade.

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Mr. Momtchiloff said that he did not think that anything really worthwhile could be accomplished by British loans to Bulgaria. He said that he feared he was getting increasingly unpopular with his Government because of his views on the subject. If it were possible through such a loan to create a trade with Great Britain over and above the normal existing trade and which would have a continuing and more or less permanent character that would be another matter; but he personally was not in favor of measures of this kind which were not economically sound, were temporary and were essentially political in character. Such a loan would merely increase Bulgaria's indebtedness and place a further strain on her divesen. He said he had excellent relations with the appropriate officials of the British Treasury and the Export Credit Guarantees Department and implied that he had used this relationship to aim at satisfying the Bulgarian Government and still not place an undue burden on the Bulgarian divesen. (It struck me as rather remarkable to find a Balkan statesman who not only held to such "old fashioned" financial views but carried them to the extent of trying to prevent his own

country

country, which is in great need of divesen, from receiving loans from abroad).

In this connection the Bulgarian Minister, like the Foreign Office (see Embassy's despatch No. 1096 of August 31, 1938), referred to difficulties due to the Ottawa agreements and volunteered that anyway the Export Credit Guarantees Department was unable to make loans for the purchase of munitions "and such loans nowadays are not usually for ordinary trade." I suggested that perhaps Great Britain, with its munitions plants working at capacity might not be in the best position to supply Bulgaria with much armament and said I supposed that Bulgaria bought arms from Czechoslovakia. He said Bulgaria did and in passing remarked that even the French firm of Creusot which had huge Czechoslovakian armament interests, made a regular practice of filling orders in Czechoslovakia, rather than in France, not only because of less labor troubles in the former country, and a larger margin of profit, but because the quality of workmanship of the products produced was better. I expressed surprise that a French munitions manufacturer should give preference to the employment of labor in a foreign country rather than in France and Mr. Momtchiloff replied that that sort of thing was typically French; their patriotism did not extend to their pocket books. He said he had had numerous dealings with the Creusot people and he knew what he was talking about.

Turning to the question of German influences on trade in the Danubian and Balkan area, Mr. Momtchiloff said that it was today much cheaper to ship freight up the Danube,

even

even as far as Bordeaux, including a long overland haul by train, than to send it around by sea. Presumably when canal facilities in Germany are improved it will be still more advantageous to Balkan shippers to use the Danube which in turn would increase their dependence on Germany. He thought that Germany would see to it that these rates remained the cheapest and if necessary would give subsidies to keep them so.

H. M.

LONDON, August 30, 1938.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 503. Bucharest, August 30, 1938.

Subject: Little Entente Conference at Bled; Maniu, Former National Peasant Leader, Circulates Article Criticizing Rumanian Diplomacy.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
SEP 21 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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1938 SEP 20 PM 4 30
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ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
SEP 27 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

770.00/582

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 29 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
SEP 28 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation 1/ of an article criticizing Rumanian policy and diplomacy at Bled written and privately distributed by Mr. Iuliu Maniu, formerly leader of the National Peasant Party. The article is headed by a statement that it was sent to the newspaper DREPTATEA for publication, but as it was naturally unacceptable to the government-controlled press Maniu appears personally to have undertaken its circulation by private means. When his messenger called at the Legation, it was noted that he had copies for the

other

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SEP 29 1938

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Legations and Consulates, as well as various individuals and institutions. This is, with one or two exceptions in the case of the Iron Guard when it was the object of governmental attack a few months ago, the first open "cheep" of opposition from political elements since the dissolution of the parties by the present dictatorial regime.

Maniu's theme is that Rumania has given Hungary the right to rearm, without receiving anything in return.

The Rumanian press is, of course, unanimous in its praise of the results obtained at Bled; Little Entente solidarity is again noted with satisfaction and the accord en principe with Hungary is hailed as a brilliant success for Little Entente, and particularly Rumanian, diplomacy in its labours in the interest of peace. Translations of a few brief but representative extracts from the leading Rumanian newspapers regarding the Bled
2/ accomplishments form the second enclosure hereto.

Although official texts are naturally already in the possession of the Department, I am also attaching hereto as a matter of record translations of (a) the
3/ communiqué issued by the Permanent Council of the Little Entente at the close of its meeting at Bled and of (b)
4/ the communique which was published simultaneously by the Permanent Council at Bled and by the Hungarian Government at Budapest. A translation of the communiqué regarding the elevation by Yugoslavia and Rumania of their Legations in the respective capitals to the rank of Embassy was given in my despatch No. 499 of August 24, 1938.

Foreign

Foreign Minister Comnen returned to Bucharest day before yesterday, having first made an excursion along the Dalmation coast, and it is announced that he will leave for Geneva on September 7th to head the Rumanian delegation at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosures:

1- Translation of article by Iuliu Maniu;
2- " of extracts from press;
3- " of communiqué;
4- " of communiqué.

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CKH:EMS.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 503
of August 30, 1938, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

TRANSLATION

Mr. Jules Maniu, President of the National Peasant Party, has sent, for publication in the newspaper DREPTATEA, the following article regarding the recent conference of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente which took place at Bled:

A GRIEVOUS BLOW TO RUMANIAN DIPLOMACY

A few days ago it was possible to read in all newspapers news according to which Italy desired a rapprochement of Rumania with Hungary, and that Yugoslavia would take the role of mediator to this end.

For those who do not know the inside of Rumanian foreign policy, this information would necessarily have caused surprise, but we, who know an entire series of facts which are knowingly hidden from the public opinion of the country, we have realized from the beginning what is going on and we have foreseen the direction that was being taken. But, let us admit it, the tendency to mystification of public opinion as regards the Conference of the Council of the Little Entente, held at Bled, has surprised us all.

All Rumanian newspapers publish plenty of official news on "the accord of Rumania with Hungary". We are going to permit ourselves to reproduce here textually the obscure phraseology of the second point of the communiqué, in order that our readers may be able to see how our diplomacy takes refuge in confused texts, when it does not want public opinion to understand the truth clearly and when it wishes to hide from it its setback and the great danger which menaces our State interests.

"The accord with Hungary"...p.II. "The Permanent Council", says the communiqué, "has noted with satisfaction that the negotiations followed during the past year with Hungary have permitted the achievement of accords which carry reciprocal renunciation of all recourse to force between Hungary and the States of the Little Entente and a recognition on the part of the three States of the equality of rights of Hungary as regards armaments.

"Certain other questions in the course of discussion, with a view to clearing the ground to permit the development of good-neighbor relations between Hungary and the three States of the Little Entente, not having been resolved, the publication of the said accords could not be effected.

"Meanwhile the States of the Little Entente have reached an accord that there be published simultaneously, at Bled by the Permanent Council of the Little Entente and at Budapest by the Hungarian Government, an identical

communiqué

communiqué noting the actual status of the negotiations in question.

"In congratulating themselves on the important results obtained, the Permanent Council expresses the desire that, thanks to the spirit of mutual understanding which bears in mind not only the interests of the countries concerned but also of those of the entire Danubian region, the complete accord will be realized without delay."

From the labyrinth of this interminable proposition we may extract with exactitude the following facts:

1. That Rumania has recognized, to the detriment of the Treaties of Peace, the right of armament of Hungary.

2. That, "certain other questions in the course of discussion, with a view to clearing the ground to permit the development of good-neighbor relations, having not yet been resolved", the accords have not yet been published.

3. That, consequently, there is no question of an accord concluded, but of discussion in progress and that we have recognized the right of armament to Hungary, and without having even cleared the ground for the development of good-neighbor relations.

This means, in good Rumanian, that Hungary has obtained all that she desired: that is to say, the right of armament, without having given us anything in exchange, not even the prospect of good-neighborliness for the future.

In the face of this evident capitulation of Rumania in her relations with Hungary there is an endeavor to mislead the Rumanian nation by the misleading affirmation that Hungary has accorded us, in exchange, "the renunciation of all recourse to force between Hungary and the States of the Little Entente".

Those who are au courant with affairs know what all the Rumanian nation should know, that the "renunciation of Hungary of all recourse to force" has been an accomplished thing for a long time through its adhesion to the Pact of the League of Nations and through the signature of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Therefore, by the Bled accord Hungary binds herself to nothing new, but in exchange Rumania gives her the juridical and practical possibility of attacking us at any time whatever and, moreover, in order that she may have opportunity to do that, we still recognize the existence "of certain other questions in course of discussion", which have not been resolved and which consequently remain litigious.

The enormity of this accord from the point of view of Rumania becomes more evident if we realize that Hungary has maintained with remarkable tenacity, since the conclusion of the Treaties of Peace, the idea of revising the frontiers fixed by the Treaty of Trianon, an idea

which the communiqué does not tell us she has renounced.

To all this there is to be added still the unpardonable mistake of the Rumanian Government, which has consented to discuss with the Hungarian Government the problem of the national minorities, which figures among "certain other questions" which have not been resolved.

We have always desired an equitable solution of the problem of the minorities----the proofs are the Resolutions of Alba-Iulia and the program of the National Peasant Party, as well as all our work of government. But we have never admitted that this problem be discussed or resolved by negotiations with a foreign Government, no matter which. We have always considered it as being a problem of international importance but in no wise as an opportunity of barter with another State, or as a pretext of another State to meddle in our internal affairs.

Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs has always represented this point of view, and the dangerous innovation that he has inaugurated does no honor to the present Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The accords of the Council of the Little Entente at Bled fill us with anxiety and bitterness, seeing the superficiality which the present regime is manifesting even in the most vital questions of our State.

The fact that these conclusions were signed both by Czechoslovakia and by Yugoslavia is not an excuse for the Rumanian representatives, for the simple reason that, in the face of the right of armament of Hungary, Czechoslovakia has the proved aid of France, of England and of Soviet Russia; and Yugoslavia would appear to have that of Italy, with which she is collaborating, at least for the moment, in full accord. On the other hand Rumania, thanks to our diplomacy, is devoid of all aid or contractual guarantee from any great power.

The lightness with which our diplomacy operates was made clear in a brilliant fashion by the Salonika and Bled accords, which grant armament to Bulgaria and to Hungary without their having recognized the inviolability of the frontiers established by the Treaties of Peace and without having the effective guarantee of some great power.

From which it follows that the platonic promise of Hungary not to have recourse to force against us is of less practical value than its obligation included in the Pact of the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, which have at least the political and moral guarantee of all the signatory States.

If the representatives of the States of the Little Entente congratulate themselves over the results obtained, we do not at all congratulate them; rather on the contrary

we disapprove of them categorically. And, moreover, we do not congratulate His Majesty the King for the work of his Government, which, through the total absence of foresight with which it works has caused His Majesty the King to set out in this manner in the exercise of his new "royal prerogatives" which he has attributed to himself in matters of foreign policy.

Bled, August 24, 1938.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 503
of August 30, 1938, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

IN TRANSLATION

EXTRACTS FROM RUMANIAN PRESS REGARDING BLED CONFERENCE

UNIVERSUL (Nationalistic, anti-Semitic), August 25.

The Bled Conference has again proved the solidarity of the States of the Little Entente. This statement, though banal, being repeated at the end of each conference, merits stressing for those who always announce imaginary discords among the members of the Little Entente on problems which interest Central Europe..... In spite of events and changes in Europe in recent years, the Little Entente has manifested its political capacity and force of resistance.

TIMPUL (Democratic Organ), August 25.

The Conference of the Little Entente terminated with a complete accord of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs.... By the accord in principle with Hungary.....the Little Entente has given new proof of its traditional will for peace and collaboration, extending to Hungary a friendly hand.....

We are informed from a serious source that during the Conference the problem of minorities, particularly the Jewish problem, was closely examined.....and the conclusion was reached that this last problem must be resolved en ensemble..... Toward this end Comnen and Krofta have been charged to study this question and find a solution.... We do not know what conclusion will be reached, but we are almost sure that an international conference will be called for a solution of the Jewish question.

SEMNALUL (Democratic), August 25.

The official communiqué most categorically stresses the solidarity of the Little Entente and a perfect accord on all current international problems----problems grave and difficult----as well as the firm will to continue the same policy of peace..... The Bled Conference constitutes, in these grave moments of agitation and tension a ray of hope and, at the same time, gives a sentiment of relative calm to the population of the States of the Little and Balkan Ententes.

DREPTATEA (former official organ of National Peasant Party)
August 25.

.....In according Hungary a right which is useless to

her

her, the Little Entente has obtained, in exchange, a written document whereby Hungary renounces resorting to armed force against the Entente. We announce this undeniable success of the Little Entente.....

INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE (formerly official French organ of National Liberal Party), August 25.

.....as regards the union, closer than ever, of the Little Entente and its perfect unity of views, in the political as well as in the economic field, the communiqué is, manifestly, impressively precise.....

(After reviewing the press of various countries)

.....everyone declares himself satisfied. Before this unanimity, one can not help being optimistic as regards the future consequences of the results, so important, of the Conference at Bled.

LE MOMENT (Democratic Organ, in French), August 25.

.....the creation of the Little Entente provoked a great sensation at one time at Budapest, which has continually refused to recognize this bloc, as such. The designation even of "Petite Entente" was used for the first time in a Hungarian newspaper, the signer of the article saying that as against the "Grande Entente", three States were amusing themselves by pretending also to play the rôle of an "entente", even though very small.

But, from now on, Hungary recognizes the reality of this organism anddeals with it, accepting the scoffing term as an emblem.

PREZENTUL (Democratic, Economic Organ), August 26.

The Bled Conference has proved, beyond a doubt, in absolutely the most difficult phase of its politics, that the Little Entente exists in fact. Born combative in the sense of self defense, it approaches today the great and noble aim which it had from the start of bringing peace to the Danube Basin and of drawing to it as many friends as possible within the organic frame of a geographic-economic unity. The path leading up to the effective realization of this ideal is, evidently, a long one. But what an immense realization it is to find the Little Entente and Hungary.....renouncing war as an instrument for settling their differences!

VIITORUL

VIITORUL (Formerly Official Organ of National Liberal Party), August 27.

The last reunion of the Council of the Little Entente has demonstrated continuity in action and cohesion of this international organism.....

We are happy to take note of the adhesion of other States to the conception of justice of the Little Entente. When, for example, Regent Horthy declared at Kiel: "If the world wants peace, it will have to recognize openly that which is just", he expressed a vital postulate for the States of the Little Entente.....

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 503
of August 30, 1938, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CLOSE OF BLED CONFERENCE

(Translated from TIMPUL, August 25, 1938)

The Permanent Council of the Little Entente met in ordinary session at Bled on August 21 and 22, 1938, under the Presidency of Mr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, who beginning with this meeting and for the coming annual period will exercise the function of President of the Permanent Council. Czechoslovakia was represented by Mr. Camil Krofta, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Rumania by Mr. N. P. Comnen, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(1) The three Ministers proceeded to a detailed examination of the general situation and of all the questions of foreign policy especially interesting the States of the Little Entente. In the course of this examination they noted with satisfaction the existence of certain comforting symptons and expressed their hope that these favorable elements will be developed and strengthened by the patient and continual effort of all the interested countries. At the same time the three Ministers stressed the deep attachment of the States of the Little Entente to the policy of peace and of understanding and manifested their firm will to remain faithful to this policy. The Permanent Council, a convinced partisan of pacific methods, congratulates the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria for the happy conclusion of the accord at Salonika by means of which these States not only have confirmed the new era of concord, consolidation and prosperity in the Balkans, but have also brought a most valuable contribution to the task of general peace.

(2) The Permanent Council notes with satisfaction that the negotiations pursued for a year with Hungary have permitted the reaching of accords which carry a reciprocal renunciation of any recourse to force between Hungary and the States of the Little Entente and the recognition on the part of the three States of equality of rights of Hungary in matters of armament. Certain other questions in the course of discussion, looking to clearing the ground in order to permit the development of good-neighbor relations between Hungary and the three States of the Little Entente, being not yet resolved, the publication of these accords can not yet be effected. However, the three States of the Little Entente and Hungary are agreed to publish simultaneously, at Bled by the Permanent Council of the Little Entente and at Budapest by the Hungarian Government, an identic communiqué setting forth the present state of the negotiations in question.

Congratulating itself for the significant results which have already been realized, the Permanent Council

expresses

expresses its hope that thanks to the spirit of mutual understanding, which takes account not only of the interests of the countries involved, but also of those of the entire Danubian region, a complete accord will be realized without delay.

(3) The Permanent Council fully realizes that, in the present situation, the League of Nations cannot fulfil entirely the duties with which it has been entrusted by the authors of the Covenant. However, the three States of the Little Entente are unanimous in their desire to collaborate with the Institution at Geneva and to cooperate within the limits of existing possibilities.

The mandate of Rumania as member of the Council of the League of Nations expiring next September, the charge to represent the Little Entente at the Council will revert, in the order established, to Yugoslavia. As regards the different questions which figure in the agenda of the next Assembly, the three Ministers have decided that the delegations of their States should continue, as in the past, to maintain among themselves a permanent and close contact so as to consult at any moment in order to fix a common attitude.

(4) The Council notes with satisfaction that the discussion which took place at the last session of the League of Nations held at Geneva from May 9 to 14, 1938, on the questions raised by the British Government of the consequences which arise from the present situation in Ethiopia, developed in such a manner as to permit solution on a general basis of a problem which was one of the causes of the crisis which exists in Europe. This solution cannot but contribute much to the task of concord and of conciliation which constitutes one of the most urgent necessities and whose most devoted champions have always been the States of the Little Entente. The Permanent Council associates itself with the declarations which the representative of Rumania made during the discussions mentioned, stressing that the political discussion followed by the three States of the Little Entente found full confirmation.

(5) The Permanent Council has examined, along general lines, the question of the Danube. It decided that the technical experts of the three Governments should meet soon at Belgrade to examine this question in all its details, inspired by the desire expressed by the Permanent Council to find, in common accord, solutions which will permit continued collaboration with the interested States.

(6) The Permanent Council stressed, once again, the significance of the task of the Economic Council, which aims to develop increased commercial relations among the States of the Little Entente. The three Governments are fully conscious of the need of increasing to the greatest extent the commercial exchanges among the three States. They will not cease to give support to all measures proposed to this end.

(7) The next session of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente will be held in September at Geneva on the occasion of the 19th reunion of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 503
of August 30, 1938, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

IDENTIC COMMUNIQUES ISSUED BY THE LITTLE ENTENTE AND HUNGARY

(Translated from TIMPUL, August 25, 1938)

Negotiations in the course of the past year between Hungary on the one hand and Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia on the other, inspired by the common desire to clear the ground of elements which might prevent the development of good-neighbor relations between Hungary and these three States, have permitted the realization of preliminary accords.

These accords carry the recognition by the three States of equality of rights for Hungary in the matter of armaments and the reciprocal renunciation of all recourse to force between Hungary and the States in question.

During the negotiations which preceded the realization of these accords, all the other questions whose solution might influence in a favorable manner the relations among the Danubian States also formed the object of a profound and friendly examination.

Declarations have also been contemplated to set forth precisely the attitude of the above-mentioned States on these questions, but they could not be drawn up in their definitive form.

It is hoped that when these difficulties are removed, the negotiations in regard to these questions will be brought to a satisfactory conclusion and that, once the accords are realized, the declarations in question will be simultaneously published.

P/H/A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

September 22, 1938

R.D.C.
P.M.

In reply to Mr. Grant's inquiry whether Albania might join the Balkan Entente, the newly appointed Albanian Minister to Turkey is reported to have said, in part:

> "The way Albania has been trimmed off in the delimitation of its frontiers does not permit Albania to join the Balkan Entente. As many Albanians are under the domination of Balkan countries, Yugoslavia and Greece, as there are in political Albania. Those Albanians are persecuted and every effort is being made to exterminate them. . . Investigations conducted by myself when I was Consul General in Skoplje in Yugoslavia have revealed the existence of Serbian secret organizations which pursue a two point program: (1) to assimilate the non-Moslem minority, and (2) to exterminate the Albanian Moslems."

He stated that there are 850,000 Albanians in Yugoslavia along the frontier. Yugoslavia sends Moslems to Turkey, he continued, who are not Turks, but Albanians. Turkey knows they are not Turks, but Turkey cannot refuse Yugoslavia at this time.

Under these circumstances, the Minister concluded, Albania cannot cooperate with the Balkan countries.

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tirana, Albania,
August 26, 1938.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1938 SEP 20 PM 3 15

No: 704

DIVISION OF

SUBJECT: MR. ASSAF DJADJOULI, NEW ALBANIAN MINISTER TO ANKARA, DISCUSSES WITH THE MINISTER ALBANIA'S SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO THE BALKAN ENTENTE.

770.02

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
SEP 27 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
OCT 4 - 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

770.00/583

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

702.7567/2

Referring to despatches No. 694, of August 16, 1938, and No. 673, of July 22nd, 1938, in regard to certain appointments in the Albanian diplomatic service, including the new ministership to Ankara, Turkey, I have the honor to inform the Department that the new Minister to Ankara, Mr. Assaf Djadjouli, called to see me at the Legation a few days ago to pay his respects before his departure for his new post.

During my conversation with Mr. Djadjouli, I made

certain ...

GMB

certain inquiries of a political nature involving the relationship of Albania with the States of the Balkan Entente, which includes Turkey, and received in reply certain information from Mr. Djadjouli, based on his experience as Albanian Consul General at Istanbul and Consul General at Skoplje, Yugoslavia, which may be of interest to the Department. I therefore enclose copy of memorandum of my conversation with Mr. Djadjouli.

Respectfully yours,

Hugh G. Grant.

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In quintuplicate
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1 enclosure

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Enclosure to Despatch No. 704
dated August 26, 1938 from the
American Legation, Tirana, Albania.

MEMORANDUM

DJADJOULI, ALBANIAN MINISTER TO ANKARA, CALLS ON MINISTER GRANT.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Assaf Djadjouli (Albanian spelling Xhaxhuli), the new Albanian Minister to Ankara, called on the American Minister, Dr. Hugh G. Grant, this morning to pay his respects to him. Many cordialities were exchanged between the two visitors, and extended reciprocal respects to their wives.

In discussing Balkan politics, Minister Grant expressed his opinion on the cooperation between the Balkan countries and stated that he believes this collaboration will have an effect on the peace of the world, with which opinion Mr. Djadjouli agreed in full. Still on the same subject, Minister Grant inquired of Minister Djadjouli whether he thought Albania might join the Balkan Entente. It was stressed that the conversation is informal and confidential. To this question Mr. Djadjouli replied, confidentially of course, in substance:

"The way Albania has been trimmed off in the delimitation of its frontiers does not permit Albania to join the Balkan Entente. As many Albanians are under the domination of Balkan countries, Yugoslavia and Greece, as there are in political Albania. Those Albanians are persecuted and every effort is being made to exterminate them from the face of the earth. Investigations conducted by myself when I was Consul General in Skoplje in Yugoslavia have revealed the existence of Serbian secret organizations which pursue a two point program: (1) To assimilate the non-Moslem minority and (2) to exterminate the Albanian Moslems. All this indicates that the Yugoslavs do not have any intention to help us out. The Yugoslav Consul General at Istanbul, Mr. Vukotitch, who has also been with the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana, told me frankly at the time the Yugoslav delegation for the sending of Moslems from Yugoslavia to settle in Turkey: 'We know your irredentist ideal. We know you Albanians' aspirations over the Albanian inhabited territories in Yugoslavia. Do you think we will remain with our hands crossed? We will do everything to defeat you.' Now, knowing the intentions of the Yugoslavs as we do, how can we cooperate with them? I assure you, Mr. Minister, that if Albania could only observe a spark of good will on the part of the Balkan countries, Albania would join them.

"I believe, ...

"I believe, Mr. Minister, that one day the Balkan Entente will break up because eventually Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, who are allied, will want to take Saloniki and Thrace respectively. Turkey and Greece maintain good relations with Yugoslavia in order to prevent Bulgaria from taking Thrace, but this situation will not last long."

In answer to Minister Grant's inquiries regarding the Albanian and other minorities in Yugoslavia and the sending of Moslems from Yugoslavia to Turkey, Mr. Djadjouli replied, in substance:

"Albanians inhabit all the Yugoslav territory along the Albanian frontier, which is the Vardar Governorship. There are 1,200,000 inhabitants in that Governorship, of whom 850,000 are Albanians; the rest are Vlachs, Rumanians, Turks, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jews etc. Those Moslems who are being sent to Turkey are not Turks; they are Albanians but it satisfies the Yugoslavs to mark them as Turks. Turkey knows they are not Turks, but it cannot refuse Yugoslavia at this time. The Turks justify themselves in their minds by thinking that since those people are Moslems they are also Turks and because the Turks have an idea that all those who speak a few words of Turkish and whose names are Hassan and Hussein are Turks. According to the Turks, all of us Albanians, from the King down, who speak Turkish and have Moslem names, are Turks. But that is not the fact. The Moslems who are being sent to Turkey are Albanians. Furthermore, Turkey does not care: It is sending these so-called Turks from Yugoslavia to remote, destitute regions in Anatolia where they will perish. Statistics show that there are in Yugoslavia only 50,000 Turks, but 250,000 are being sent to Turkey. This emigration will require five years. The Yugoslavs claim that there are 450,000 Turks in Yugoslavia, which is not true, of course, and say that when this contingent has been sent, they will send another 200,000 to Turkey. But these Albanians do not wish to stay in Turkey. Many thousands several years ago volunteered to go to Turkey, but they found conditions unbearable there and the Consulate General at Istanbul is besieged by them asking to be taken to Albania. As a result, 5,000 have come to Albania and have settled here.

"Under the circumstances, we do not feel that we can cooperate with the Balkan countries. It is true, as Your Excellency states, that Albania has such an important strategic position both to the West and to the East, but Albania has been done gross injustice. We do not aspire over territories belonging to other nations and races. Let them give us our own, that which belongs to us, and we would go at once to collaborate with them."

Minister Grant expressed his thanks to Minister Djadjouli for this enlightening discussion, and said that he received from Mr. Djadjouli a complete picture of the situation.

The visit concluded with further exchanges of courtesies.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Summary of Despatch no. 1208, from Legation at Budapest, dated September 7, 1938.

Subject: Hungary and the Little Entente.

Hungarian officials appear to be very well pleased with the outcome of the Bled conference. They look upon it as the entering wedge in the break-up of the Little Entente and the Foreign Office is convinced that the Little Entente is weaker today than it has ever been.

Foreign Office officials and Hungarian politicians appear to be certain that Yugoslavia would not go to the assistance of Czechoslovakia in the event of a conflict confined between Czechoslovakia and Germany. Some officials go so far as to doubt that Yugoslavia would attack Hungary in the event that Hungary were to take military action against Czechoslovakia, but this belief is not too firmly held and it is still generally thought in Hungary that

Rumania

Rumania and Yugoslavia at the present time would send troops into Hungary in the event that Hungary were to take military action against Czechoslovakia.

Foreign Office officials state that the Foreign Minister found no difficulty in explaining to German officials the reasons for and significance of the Bled agreements.

The Hungarians have particularly stressed the fact that recognition of Hungarian military equality has now been irrevocably recognized. It is assumed that remilitarization of Hungary will now go forward. It seems likely that the Bureau of Aviation, hitherto under the Ministry of Commerce will ultimately be placed under the Ministry of Defense.

Concerning the treatment of Hungarian minorities officials and the press have stressed the fact that the agreements with Yugoslavia and Rumania can only enter into effect when suitable action for the better treatment of these minorities is undertaken.

Eu:Flack:VEJ

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN LEGATION
Budapest, September 7, 1938.

No. 1208.

Subject: Hungary and the Little Entente

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DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
SEP 23 1938

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SEP 21 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
SEP 23 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

for O. N. I.
M. I. D.
SEP 27 1938

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 29 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

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I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch No. 1197 of August 26 and the Legation's telegram No. 63 of August 29, 1938, and to enclose herewith a translation of the interviews given by

1/ the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister to the VOLKISCHER BEOBACHTER and to the Hungarian press representatives

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SEP 29 1938

representatives in Berlin.

Hungarian officials, and particularly the Foreign Minister, appear to be very well pleased with the outcome of the Bled conference. They look upon it, as I pointed out in my telegram No. 63, as the entering wedge in the break-up of the Little Entente. The Foreign Office here is aware of the fact that the agreements have been otherwise interpreted in Belgrade and Prague, but they believe this to be a delusion and are under the firm conviction that the Little Entente is weaker today than it has ever been.

Officials at the Foreign Office and other persons in Hungarian political circles appear to be certain that Yugoslavia would not go to the assistance of Czechoslovakia in the event of a conflict confined entirely to Czechoslovakia and Germany. Some officials even go so far as to doubt that Yugoslavia would attack Hungary in the event that this country were to take military action against Czechoslovakia, but it must be added that this latter belief is not too firmly held and it is still fairly generally believed in Hungary that Rumania and Yugoslavia, as things exist at the present time, would send troops into Hungary in the event that Hungary were to take military action against Czechoslovakia.

The story which got abroad from Bled to the

effect

effect that German telephone officials had made it difficult for the Hungarian Minister to Yugoslavia to speak with Foreign Minister de Kánya at Kiel are not generally believed in Budapest. Count Csáky, who accompanied Mr. de Kánya, said that the effort to speak with Baron Bessenyey, the Hungarian Minister in Bled, from the German cruiser GRILLÉ had been unsuccessful due to atmospheric interference. Count Csáky spent a good part of that evening going from ship to ship outside Kiel in an effort to find a more powerful radio. He said that he received every cooperation from the German authorities. It was not, however, until the following day, when Mr. de Kánya was on the PATRIA, that it was possible to speak with Baron Bessenyey. I have been told by the Foreign Office that Mr. de Kánya found no difficulty in explaining to the German officials the reasons for, and significance of, the Bled agreements. I am assured by several officials who accompanied the Regent's party that the Germans fully appreciated the situation and were in full agreement with the action which the Hungarian Foreign Minister had taken.

As I mentioned in my telegram No. 63, the Hungarians have particularly stressed the fact that recognition of Hungarian military equality has now been irrevocably recognized. It would appear that the Hungarian military authorities were very anxious

to

to have this recognition for technical reasons. The speech made by Prime Minister Imrédy nn September 4, in which he announced the intention of the Hungarian Government to introduce military conscription, would appear to be a confirmation of the fact that the military authorities had been awaiting the conclusion of the Bled agreements before undertaking the full militarization of the country. It is assumed that the remilitarization of the country will now go forward apace and it seems not unlikely that the Bureau of Aviation, which has hitherto been a semi-independent bureau under the Ministry of Commerce, will ultimately come under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense.

As regards the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States, it must be stressed that the Hungarian officials, in their public announcements, and the Hungarian newspapers have made particular point of the fact that the agreements with Yugoslavia and Rumania can only go into effect when suitable action for the better treatment of these minorities is undertaken. A few Hungarian papers since the Bled conference have published articles dealing particularly with Transylvania, which have left the impression that the desire of the Government at Bucharest to improve the conditions of the Hungarian minority in Rumania does not always receive the full

cooperation

cooperation of the local authorities. It has often been remarked in Hungary that such improvement in treatment would be difficult to bring about in Rumania where the control of the provincial and municipal authorities from Bucharest is sometimes extremely weak, if not almost completely lacking. Nevertheless, there would seem to be no evidence in the local press of a concerted campaign against Yugoslavia and Rumania at the present time; complaints with regard to minority treatment are directed chiefly against Czechoslovakia.

Respectfully yours,

Howard K. Travers,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosure:
1. Translation of interviews to Press.

In quintuplicate.

Legation file 710.

Enclosure 1 to despatch No. 1208 of September 7, 1938 from the American Legation, Budapest, Hungary.

TRANSLATION.

INTERVIEWS GIVEN BY THE HUNGARIAN PRIME MINISTER AND HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE VOLKISCHER BEOBACHTER AND TO HUNGARIAN PRESS REPRESENTATIVES DURING THEIR VISIT TO GERMANY.

INTERVIEW TO VOLKISCHER BEOBACHTER:

Imrédy declared that the Hungarian visitors had ample opportunity to see that the new German Reich not only has ideas and vast plans, but actually carries them out. Replying to a question, he stated that the Hungarian statesmen had ample opportunity, especially on board the PATRIA and at Heligoland, to confer with Hitler and the German statesmen. The questions discussed gave a clear picture of the German view of the whole field under survey, and the view of Hungary were likewise stated.

Bled Conference.

Prime Minister Imrédy pointed out that the wording of the communiqué issued at Bled was due to the circumstance that no final agreement was concluded there; merely the intention to conclude such an agreement and the rough basic features of the agreement were announced. Hungary's military equality, in itself and from the Hungarian point of view, is something quite natural, but the Little Entente States had not yet formally acknowledged this right on the part of Hungary. The renunciation of violence does not mean anything else than a reiterated acknowledgment by Hungary of the well-known obligation resulting from the Kellogg Pact. The agreement stands or falls as a result of the attitude to be shown by the Little Entente States towards the Hungarian minorities.

Kánya arrived at this point in the interview and joined in the conversation. He stated as follows:

"There is an absolutely clear connection between military equality and the renunciation of violence on the one hand, and minority protection on the other; namely,

(1) The agreement can only enter into effect if a perfect accord is also reached in the matter of the minority declaration to be made by the Czech Government;

(2) Hungary naturally makes her attitude dependent on the fashion in which the obligations assumed in the minority declarations in question are actually observed."

Imrédy added that agreements had actually been reached with Yugoslavia and Rumania and the corresponding

declarations,

declarations, also containing references to the minority problem, were already drafted. The two agreements had not entered into effect because Rumania and Yugoslavia were waiting for Czechoslovakia to state her attitude.

Imrédy and Kánya subsequently stated the reasons why Hungary is obliged to advance special and more extensive claims regarding the minority in Czechoslovakia than seemed necessary in dealing with the other two countries. They pointed in this connection to the fact that Czechoslovakia was a nationality State. So far the Prague Government had not agreed to the Bled plan; hence, no definitive solution could be attained. Kánya summed up the situation: "The basic idea of the agreement consists in doing everything, especially in the minority problem, apt to eliminate obstacles to the normalization of the Central European situation."

Imrédy subsequently mentioned that discussions, along general lines, on economic matters had taken place with Funk and others, experts of both countries to continue the discussions. He emphasized that good-will on both sides had succeeded in general in eliminating the technical difficulties which had arisen through the Anschluss. The question of providing Western Hungary with wood, so far supplied chiefly by Austria, was a more difficult matter. Another question was the maintenance of the volume of trade, rendered more difficult from the Hungarian point of view by the considerable surplus on the Hungarian export side. The talk finally ended with references made by both Ministers to the deep impressions made by the splendid hospitality offered by Hitler and the German people.

INTERVIEW TO HUNGARIAN PRESS:

The journalists first turned to the Prime Minister who began by saying that the two Governments would not issue any communiqué of the Regent's visit to Hungary, this not being customary when heads of State meet. Besides, the two toasts had contained the leading principles which could only be repeated in a communiqué.

"What ar the results of the trip to Germany?"

"Peace based on justice is the goal of cooperation between Germany and Hungary", the Prime Minister replied. "This identical aim may be traced back to the perfect accord in the views of both Governments, as has also been manifested on this occasion. As a natural consequence of this thorough understanding, nothing amounting to any essential change has occurred. Our friendship is so perfectly sincere and deep that it needs no formal confirmation. We naturally do not cease our efforts to make this friendship ever deeper."

(Here

(Here followed questions and replies given by Imrédy practically identical with what he had said to VOLKISCHER BEOBACHTER with regard to the achievements of the Third Reich; he mentioned the deep impression made by the naval review and the military parade, adding that the magnificent Lohengrin performance at the Opera showed, on the other hand, that arts also play their due part. What he said about economic matters was also much the same; he added that there was no need for new agreements because down to the smallest detail the economic relations between the two countries had been defined; the wood problem must be solved in consequence of the Anschluss and the volume of trade must in general find its equilibrium. Views are identical in many respects on both sides; only a few matters of detail must be elucidated by experts).

"What is Your Excellency's view on the Czech problem?" was the last question asked by the journalists.

"German-Czech relations have not changed of late. We must, on the one hand, hope that Prague will realize its own position and refrain from any step which would make matters worse; in other words, from any provocation. On the other hand, we also expect that the Prague Government will make not only sham concessions, but actual and practical concessions, to the minorities, by which concessions the internal situation in Czechoslovakia and the relations with Germany may probably be settled."

Questions were then addressed to Foreign Minister de Kánya.

"What has Your Excellency to say in connection with the diverse comments made abroad concerning the events at Bled, as well as to the circumstance that these events coincided with the Regent's visit to Germany?"

"These events did not amount to any surprise, there having been talk about the normalization of relations between Hungary and the Little Entente States for a year. I might add that the Saloniki Agreement has nothing in common with the Bled agreement and that no connection exists between the two agreements, especially since the discussions between ourselves and the Little Entente had begun much earlier.

"Besides, and this is the essential difference between the two acts of diplomacy, at Saloniki nothing but the military equality of Bulgaria was

recognized

recognized and not a word was mentioned in connection with the minority problem. I especially wish to emphasize the following: We had consistently taken the view that our military equality could not be the object of barter; it could not be exploited as an equivalent at diplomatic discussions, as it is a self-evident and natural right of every independent State."

"In what form is the wording of the agreement to be expected?"

"The conditional agreement of Bled mentioned by the communiqué refers to the following three points: In the first, the Little Entente States recognize the military equality of Hungary; in the second, Hungary on the one side and the States of the Little Entente on the other side acknowledge that they will not apply violence in their dealings with one another; then comes the third - the most important - part, the declaration regarding the minorities. In this declaration, Rumania and Yugoslavia establish (the declaration not containing the term 'minority') that their Governments would make every effort to eliminate such obstacles as had hitherto prevented the normalization of our relations."

"How far has Your Excellency proceeded in the way of wording?"

"The texts have been fully discussed in the relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia and Rumania; they have been prepared in every detail. As regards the first point, recognition of our military equality has actually been irrevocably assured, although the agreement has legally not yet entered into effect. As regards the second and third points, i.e., the mutual declaration to be made in the spirit of the Kellogg Pact and the declaration to be made on the subject of the Hungarian minorities, I again repeat that the final text between Hungary and Rumania and Yugoslavia has already been drawn up; the two latter States accept the text proposed by us, but the corresponding agreement between Hungary and Czechoslovakia has not yet been reached. As regards the wording of the declaration, our claims went much further as far as this country was concerned; claims which were such as Czechoslovakia had so far considered to be unacceptable. We, on our part, however - and I wish to say so most emphatically - insist under all circumstances on our claims made to Czechoslovakia. It follows therefrom that the non-aggression clause depends on the conclusion of an agreement

regarding

regarding the minority declaration; and the whole act of diplomacy will, as a matter of fact, only take effect if and when a minority declaration, in the form already agreed on or to be agreed on, is separately made by each of the three States."

"Under these circumstances, what importance does Your Excellency attribute to the diplomatic discussions at Bled?"

"I, on my part, am extremely satisfied", Mr. de Kánya replied with a certain emphasis, "since our military equality was irrevocably recognized. The wide bearing of this fact may be seen already by the circumstance that Foreign Minister Ciano sent a congratulatory telegram. I myself pointed in my reply to the outstanding political and moral significance of the recognition of our military equality."

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
AUG 29 1938
MR. BERLE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
OCT 13 1938
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

SECRETARY OF STATE
AUG 31 1938

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FILED
AUG 31 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

August 27, 1938.

Mr. Berle:

Mr. Messersmith:

Mr. Secretary:

770.00

On July 31, 1938, an agreement was signed at Salonika between Bulgaria and the members of the Balkan Entente (Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Rumania), providing notably that Bulgaria was relieved of the restrictions placed upon her by the Treaty of Neuilly as regards armaments, and that the neutral zone of 30 kilometers extending on each side of the common Bulgar-Turkish and the Greek-Turkish common frontiers, provided for in the Treaty of Lausanne, should be abolished.

In reviewing the agreement, the Turkish press regrets that the Salonika accord did not include Bulgaria's actual membership in the Balkan Entente. It rejoices, however, that a long step has been taken in that direction. Bulgaria could hardly become an actual member of the Entente without giving up her aspirations for an extension of her frontiers (including notably a port in Greek territory on the Aegean), but the Salonika instrument is taken to mean that Bulgaria is willing to forego her territorial am-

bitions

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GMB

bitions for the present, for the sake of gaining other ends more pressing.

Turkey has also gained considerably by the new agreement, for she is now able openly to station troops in the Thracian zone around Adrianople. Turkey is thus freed from the last vestige of servitude placed upon her following the World War, when she was required to agree to several neutral zones and to a strict régime of the Straits. The Turkish people have given remarkably little attention to this important part of the Salonika Agreement, possibly because Turkey and Greece have for several years tacitly disregarded the neutral zone in Thrace.

The Balkan Entente was originally planned with Bulgaria as the principal "enemy" to guard against. With the welcoming of Bulgaria into the fold the Balkan Entente has been weakened to the extent that the common enemy is now a friend. Since Yugoslavia has recently been making friends with Italy, and Rumania with Germany, a new alignment in the Balkans seems probable, with Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria leaning towards the Democratic Powers. However, the Turkish press is aware that the trouble in the Balkans in the past has been that each Balkan state tried to ally itself with a Great Power, and the Balkans thereby became pawns to be played off against each other and their enmities encouraged. The strength of the Balkan Entente has been that the Balkan states have joined together in

a

a friendly manner for the purpose of remaining aloof from European alignments and standing on their own. The press hopes that this motive may continue to form a cementing force to hold the Entente together.

It is generally considered in Turkey that the recent Salonika Agreement has been on the whole advantageous to the Democratic countries and a blow to the Berlin-Rome interests in the Balkans. Every effort at secrecy is said to have been made to prevent news of the Agreement from leaking out before it was signed, possibly to prevent Germany and Italy from attempting to block it. The Legation in Athens reports, however, that press despatches from Sofia via Paris indicate that Italy at least was kept informed of the negotiations. Hence, the Legation says, "the efforts at secrecy remain obscure".

A despatch from the Embassy in Rome shows that Italy has attempted to make the best of the Agreement by declaring that it is advantageous to her. The Italian press points out that the accord was fostered by Italy's good friend Yugoslavia, that it was not concluded at or via Geneva and therefore constitutes another severe blow at the League, that it breaks one more of the World War peace treaties, which France has so foolishly insisted upon supporting to the letter, and that the revision has been achieved by peaceful methods "which might be followed in other European sectors". The last is most surprising,

coming

coming from Italy, and sounds like a possible reference to German methods in Austria.

It may be pointed out that the Salonika accord provides for the abrogation of parts of the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne by agreements merely among the Balkan states, without reference to or consultation with many of the other signatories to those two treaties. None of the other signatories, however, has any particular interest in the provisions abrogated, and it may be assumed that no objection will be raised to the fait accompli.

Wallace Murray

NE GVA/LS

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, September 26, 1938.

No. 2484.

Subject: The Salonika Pact.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OCT 28 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
File Copy
OCT 28 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
OCT 27 1938

770.00/576

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
OCT 26 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 2438 of August 20, 1938, with which I enclosed a note from the Premier of Greece requesting me to inform my Government, in its quality as signatory of the Treaty of Neuilly, that he, as President of the Balkan Entente, had signed at Salonika on July 31st of this year, an agreement with Bulgaria by which the latter together with the states of the Entente renounced as concerns themselves the application of Part IV of that Treaty. Since no notification of the Balkan Entente's intentions in this matter had been previously vouchsafed to the

United

FP

United States Government through this Legation, nor, apparently, by any other means, and it thus seemed that the legal method of changing treaties, so loudly acclaimed when Turkey desired to alter the provisions of the Straits Convention, might have been overlooked by the Balkan authorities, I inquired of my British colleague what had been his experience in the matter, with results which may be interesting to the Department.

Sir Sydney said he felt that the essence if not the form of the law had been observed. He maintained that the alteration of the Straits Convention was not comparable to the case in question, for the reason that the fortification of the Dardanelles was a matter affecting many national interests, whereas the military provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly, and the establishment of demilitarized zones under the Treaty of Lausanne, affect only the countries immediately concerned. I pointed out, however, that these things might also conceivably affect some other countries such as Italy, France, and England, and asked him directly whether his own government had been informed of the intentions of the Balkan authorities.

This question precipitated a lengthy reply, in which Sir Sydney, a little to my surprise and greatly to my admiration, informed me that he personally was, to all intents and purposes, the author of the Salonika Pact! I cannot reproduce his exact words, but the following gives their gist: "Some time ago I became very worried about Bulgaria, which seemed to be drawing closer to Germany, and I drew up a plan whereby she might be induced to join the Balkan groupment,--which we, as

you

you know, have to a certain extent taken under our wing,--and sent it to the Foreign Office. There it was discussed and considered for a long time, but it was really the Anschluss which made its realization possible, since this frightened all the countries down here and convinced them of the necessity of getting together. The Foreign Office then turned the idea over to the Turks, and it is to them that we give all the credit, what I have said to you being absolutely confidential. The plan I drafted took into consideration that Bulgaria had already rearmed in contravention of the Treaty of Neuilly, so that nothing could in fact be lost by offering her the abrogation of its military clauses, while much might, and has been gained, at least psychologically, in the alteration of her attitude toward her immediate neighbors. I then went over the draft of the treaty several times during its preparation. No outside governments were officially notified in advance, though the Italians got wind of what was going on, and were told, and the French also knew."

Some people think that Sir Sydney's egotism is growing with his advancing years (he was due for retirement this summer but secured an extra year of grace through, it is said, his friendship with Vansittart), but his remarks confirm the idea already current that the British stood behind the Turks in this new Balkan rapprochement. His reference to the Anschluss likewise has the ring of truth, connecting, as it does, the Salonika Pact with general European, rather than merely Balkan politics. But this also suggests that the

urgency

urgency of the moment had more to do with the secrecy which preceded the signing of the Salonika Pact than any real or specious differences between the Straits Convention and the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne.

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh.

File No. 710.

LMacV/jr

REB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

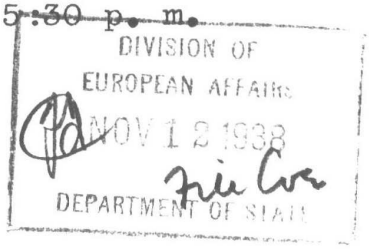
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

FROM

SOFIA

Dated November 10, 1938

Rec'd 5:30 p. m.



Secretary of State,

Washington.

29, November 10, 4 p. m.

Since my despatch 160, October 18, Bulgarian public opinion has shown increasing impatience in view of the Government's apparent failure to push for a solution of Bulgarian minority and territorial claims. The Prime Minister yesterday evening outlined to me his position as follows: (one) since the Munich Agreement the interest of European democratic governments, especially England, in the problems of the Balkans has decreased; (two) he reaffirmed that he had no knowledge of any deliberations regarding Bulgarian minorities; (three) the conversation with Stoyadinovich (see my 28 of October 31st) was in part due to the necessity to allay Belgrade's uneasiness in view of alarming reports on the spirit at Sofia regarding, (a) minorities (b) local allegations in connection with the recent assassination of the Chief of Staff and (c) the advantages of Bulgarian collaboration with the Balkan Entente (even though Bulgarian reservations to pact

membership

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GE

REB

membership remain unchanged) to meet the threat of German economic domination; (four) Yugoslav Prime Minister undertook in the Nish conversations confidentially to broach in Balkan pact capitals the questions of extending the economic benefits of the pact to Bulgaria to further a consolidated Balkan economic program.

While this conversation was in progress a Government bill dealing with the semi-official press was defeated in Parliament by two votes. Questions of confidence was not involved but since the Government is convinced that the present situation offers no opportunity to meet Bulgarian public opinion over minority questions I feel doubtful whether the Prime Minister is willing to continue in office without assurances that any government he may head in the future will have the confidence of the King and the parliamentary deputies. The King will receive the Prime Minister this afternoon.

ATHERTON

EMB

ROW

770.00

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760h.71/76 FOR tel #166 10am

FROM Yugoslavia (Lane) DATED Nov.18, 1938

TO NAME

1—1127

REGARDING: Agreement for termination of the Little Entente

Czechosloval Minister advises - reached at the meeting of Prince Paul of Yugoslavia and King Carol of Rumania in Bucharest.

dg

770.00/588 GDG

5-8-45

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, November 28, 1938.

No. 2588.

Subject: Ratification and Promulgation of the Salonika Pact of July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente.

For the Attention of the Treaty Division.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
DEC 28 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DEC 28 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1938 DEC 16 PM 2 18
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
DEC 29 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

TREATY DIVISION
DEC 17 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

770.00/589 GDG

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

FILED
DEC 30 1938

770.00/561

Sir:

Referring to my despatches Nos. 2397 of August 3, 1938, and 2438 of August 20, 1938, concerning the signature of the Salonika Pact of July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente, I have the honor to report that Greece has now ratified and officially promulgated that Agreement. The ratification was accomplished by Emergency Law No. 1454/1938 of October 29, 1938, published, along with the French

text

text and Greek translation of the Agreement, in the Official Gazette, Volume I, No. 429 of November 12, 1938.

Copies of the Official Gazette are enclosed herewith, accompanied by an English translation of the ratifying law. The text of the Agreement is as transmitted with the despatches under reference.

Respectfully yours,

Harold Shantz

Harold Shantz,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosures:

1. Translation of Ratifying Law re Salonika Pact.
2. Copies of Official Gazette, Volume I, No. 429 of November 12, 1938.

Copy to American Legation, Sofia.

File No. 710.

FDK/pe

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 2588 of November 28, 1938, from the American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of the Ratification of the Salonika Pact.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: Official Gazette,
Volume I, No. 429,
November 12, 1938.

EMERGENCY LAW No. 1454/1938.

Re: Ratification of the Salonika Agreement, signed July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente.

GEORGE II

KING OF THE HELLENES

At the proposal of Our Council of Ministers, we have decided and order:

Sole Article.

The "Agreement between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente", signed at Salonika, July 31, 1938, is hereby ratified and has full legal force.

Athens, October 25, 1938.

GEORGE II

The Council of Ministers.

Seen and Sealed with the Great Seal of the State:

Athens, October 29, 1938.

The Minister of Justice,

AGIS TAMPACOPOULOS

HM/pe

ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ
ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 12 Νοεμβρίου **1938** | ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ | *Ἀριθμὸς φύλλου* **429**

ΟΡΟΙ ΕΤΗΣΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΗ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΣΕΩΝ Κ.Λ.Π.

		Ἐσωτερικοῦ	Ἐξωτερικοῦ
1. Διὰ τὸ Τεῦχος Α΄	Δρ.	300	500
2. Διὰ τὸ Τεῦχος Β΄	»	200	350
3. Δι'ἀμφότερα τὰ Τεύχη Α΄ καὶ Β΄	»	450	750
4. Διὰ τὸ Τεῦχος Γ΄	»	200	350
5. Διὰ τὰ τρία Τεύχη Α΄,Β΄ καὶ Γ΄	»	600	1.000
6. Διὰ τὸ Παράρτημα	»	500	850
7. Διὰ τὰ Τεύχη Α΄, Β΄, Γ΄ καὶ τὸ Παράρτημα	»	1.000	1.750
8. Διὰ τὸ Δελτίον Ἀνων. Ἑταιρειῶν	»	600	1.000
9. Διὰ τὰ Τεύχη Α΄, Β΄, Γ΄, τὸ Παράρτημα καὶ τὸ Δελτίον Ἀνωνύμων Ἑταιρειῶν	»	1.500	2.500
10. Διὰ τὸ Δελτίον Βιομ.Ἰδιοκτησίας	»	200	350
11. Διὰ τὰ Τεύχη Α΄, Β΄, Γ΄, τὸ Παράρτημα καὶ τὰ Δελτία Ἀν. Ἑταιρειῶν καὶ Βιομηχαν. Ἰδιοκτησίας	»	1.700	2.900
12. Διὰ τὸ Τεῦχος Πράξεις Νομ. Προσώπων Δημοσ. Δικαίου κλπ.	»	500	850
13. Δι' ἅπαντα τὰ Τεύχη, τὸ Παράρτημα καὶ τὰ Δελτία	»	2.000	3.500

Διὰ τοὺς Δήμους τοῦ Κράτους ἡ ἐτησία συνδρομὴ ὡρίσθη εἰς τὰ ἥμισυ τῆς ὡς ἄνω ἀναγραφομένης συνδρομῆς τοῦ Ἐσωτερικοῦ.

Ἡ συνδρομὴ εἰς πᾶσαν περίπτωσιν ἄρχεται ἀπὸ 1ης Ἰανουαρίου ἑκάστου ἔτους καὶ εἶναι προπληρωτέα.

Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν τμηματικῶς πωλουμένων παλαιῶν καὶ νέων φύλλων τῆς Ἐφημερίδος ὡρίσθη δι' ἕκαστον φύλλον τῶν Α΄, Β΄, Γ΄ Τευχῶν, τοῦ Παραρτήματος τοῦ Δελτίου Ἀνων. Ἑταιρειῶν καὶ τοῦ Τεύχους Πράξεις Νομ. Προσώπων Δημ. Δικαίου κλπ. Δρ. 10

Δι' ἕκαστον δὲ ἀντίτυπον τοῦ Δελτίου Βιομηχανικῆς Ἰδιοκτησίας ... . » 25

Τὰ τέλη τῶν δημοσιεύσεων ὁρίζονται ὡς ἑξῆς :

Α΄. Εἰς τὸ Δελτίον Ἀνωνύμων Ἑταιρειῶν :

1) Τῶν δικαστικῶν πράξεων ..... Δρ. 300
2) Τῶν καταστατικῶν τῶν Ἀνωνύμων Ἑταιρειῶν ... » 10.000
3) Τῶν τροποποιήσεων τῶν καταστατικῶν τῶν Ἀνωνύμων Ἑταιρειῶν.. .. .. » 2.000
4) Τῶν τροποποιήσεων καταστατικῶν Ἀνωνύμων Ἑταιρειῶν, ὁσάκις δημοσιεύονται μετὰ τῶν μὴ τροποποιουμένων ἄρθρων εἰς ἐνιαῖον κείμενον καταστατικοῦ. .. .. » 5.000
5) Τῶν ἀνακοινώσεων καὶ προσκλήσεων εἰς Γεν. Συνελεύσεις τῶν Ἀνωνύμων Ἑταιρειῶν ..... » 800
6) Τῶν Ἰσολογισμῶν τῶν Ἀνων. Ἑταιρειῶν..... » 4.000
7) Τῶν συνοπτικῶν μηνιαίων καταστάσεων Τραπεζικῶν Ἀνωνύμων Ἑταιρειῶν .. .. » 1.500

Β΄. Εἰς τὸ Παράρτημα τῆς Ἐφημ. τῆς Κυβερνήσεως :

1) Τῶν δικαστ. προσκλήσεων καὶ λοιπῶν δημοσιεύσεων Δρ. 300

Αἱ πληρωμαὶ διὰ τὰς συνδρομὰς καὶ διὰ τὰ τέλη τῶν πάσης φύσεως δημοσιεύσεων ἐνεργοῦνται προκαταβολικῶς εἰς τὰ Δημόσια Ταμεῖα ἔναντι γραμματίου παραλαβῆς, ὅπερ ἀποστέλλεται παρὰ τοῦ ἐνδιαφερομένου εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Τυπογραφείου.

ΑΝΑΓΚΑΣΤΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ

Ἀναγκ. Νόμος ὑπ' ἀριθ. 1454. 1938

Περὶ κυρώσεως τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ὑπογραφείσης τῇ 31ῃ Ἰουλίου 1938 Συμφωνίας μεταξὺ Βουλγαρίας καὶ Βαλκανικῆς Συνεννοήσεως.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Β΄
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ

Προτάσει τοῦ Ἡμετέρου Ὑπουργικοῦ Συμβουλίου, ἀπεφασίσαμεν καὶ διατάσσομεν :

Ἄρθρον μόνον.

Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ὑπογραφεῖσα τῇ 31ῃ Ἰουλίου ἐ. ἔ. «Συμφωνία μεταξὺ τῆς Βουλγαρίας καὶ τῆς Βαλκανικῆς Συνεννοήσεως», κυροῦται καὶ ἔχει πλήρη καὶ νόμιμον ἰσχύν.

Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 25 Ὀκτωβρίου 1938.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Β΄

Τὸ Ὑπουργικὸν Συμβούλιον

Ὁ Πρόεδρος

Ι. ΜΕΤΑΞΑΣ

Τὰ Μέλη

Α. ΤΑΜΠΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ι. ΔΟΥΡΕΝΤΗΣ, Κ. ΣΩΡΓΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, ΑΝΔΡ. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, Ι. ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΗΣ, ΑΓΓ. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ, Γ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ, Γ. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝΟΣ, Ν. ΠΑΠΑΔΗΜΑΣ, ΙΠΠ. ΠΑΠΑΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, Π. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΚΟΣ, Κ. ΜΠΟΥΡΜΠΟΥΛΗΣ, Θ. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΥΔΗΣ, Π. ΚΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ, Κ. ΜΑΝΙΑΔΑΚΗΣ, Δ. ΔΕΥΚΑΛΙΩΝ ΡΕΔΙΑΔΗΣ.

Ἐθεωρήθη καὶ ἐτέθη ἡ μεγάλη τοῦ Κράτους σφραγίς.

Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 29 Ὀκτωβρίου 1938.

Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Δικαιοσύνης Ὑπουργὸς

ΑΓΙΣ ΤΑΜΠΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

ΣΩΜΦΩΝΙΑ
ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΛΚΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΝΝΟΗΣΕΩΣ

βάνοντες ὑπ' ὄψιν,

τι ἡ Βουλγαρία εἶναι προσηλωμένη εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν ἑδραιώσεως τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν τοῖς Βαλκανίοις καὶ ὅτι διαπνέεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας νὰ διατηρήσῃ σχέσεις καλοσυνείας καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς συνεργασίας μετὰ τῶν Βαλκανικῶν ...ατῶν, καὶ

...ὰ Κράτη τῆς Βαλκανικῆς Συνεννοήσεως ἐμπνέονται ...ς Βουλγαρίας ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰρηνοφίλου πνεύματος ...αὐτῆς ἐπιθυμίας συνεργασίας.

...τωθι ὑπογεγραμμένοι:

...Ε. ὁ κ. Ἰωάννης Μεταξᾶς, Πρόεδρος τοῦ Ὑπουρ... Συμβουλίου, Ὑπουργὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν τῆς Ἑλ... ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδιότητα αὐτοῦ, ὡς Προέδρου ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ ...ῦς Συμβουλίου τῆς Βαλκανικῆς Συνεννοήσεως, ἐνερ... ὀνόματι ὅλων τῶν Μελῶν τῆς Βαλκανικῆς Συνεννοή... ἀφ' ἑνός, καὶ

...Η Α. Ε. ὁ κ. Γεώργιος Κιοσεϊβάνωφ, Πρόεδρος τοῦ Ὑ...ργικοῦ Συμβουλίου, Ὑπουργὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν τῆς ...υλγαρίας, ἀφ' ἑτέρου,

...ηλοῦσιν, ἐν ὀνόματι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπροσωπευομένων ...ατῶν, ὅτι τὰ Κράτη ταῦτα ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν ...ἀπέχωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀμοιβαίας αὐτῶν σχέσεις, πάσης προσφυ... εἰς τὴν βίαν, συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς συμφωνίας ἃς ἕκαστον ...Κρατῶν τούτων ἔχει ὑπογράψῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος τῆς μὴ ...σεως, καὶ ὅτι συμφωνοῦσιν, καθ' ὅσον ἀφορᾷ ἑαυτά, ὅπως ...ηθῶσι τῆς ἐφαρμογῆς τῶν διατάξεων αἵτινες περιλαμ... εἰς τὸ Μέρος Δ' (Στρατιωτικοὶ, Ναυτικοὶ καὶ Ἀε... ...ροι) τῆς Συνθήκης τοῦ Νεϊγὺ, ὡς καὶ τῶν διατά... περιλαμβανομένων εἰς τὴν Σύμβασιν ἐν σχέσει πρὸς ... Θράκης, τὴν ὑπογραφεῖσαν ἐν Λωζάννῃ τῇ 24ῃ ...

... Θεσσαλονίκῃ εἰς διπλοῦν τῇ 31ῃ Ἰουλίου 1938

Ι. ΜΕ...ΑΣ Γ. ΚΙΟΣΕ·Ι·ΒΑΝΩΦ

ACCORD
ENTRE LA BULGARIE ET L' ENTENTE BALKANIQUE

Prenant en considération:

Que la Bulgarie est attachée à la politique de raffermissement de la paix dans les Balkans et qu'elle est animée du désir d' entretenir avee les Etats Balkaniques des relations de bon voisinage et de confiante collaboration et.

Que les Etats de l'Entente Balkanigue sont animés à l'égard de la Bulgarie du méme esprit pacifique et du même désir de coopération.

Les soussignés:

Son Excellence Monsier le Dr. Georges Kiosseïvanoff, Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Bulgarie, d'une part, et

Son Excellence Monsier Jean Métaxas, Président du Conseil des Ministres, Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres de Grèce, en sa qualité de Président en exercice du Conseil Permanent de l'Entente Balkanique, agissant au nom de tous les membres de l'Entente Balkanique. d'autre part.

Déclarent au nom des Etats qu'ils représentent que ces Etats prennent l'engagement de s'abstenir dans leurs relation mutuelles de tout recours à la force, conformément aux accords que chacun de ces Etats a souscrits en matière de non agression, et qu'ils conviennent, en ce qui les concerne, à renoncer à l'application des dispositions contenues dans la Partie IV (Clauses Militaires, Navales et Aériennes) du Traité de Neuilly ainsi que des dispositions contenues dans la Convention concernant la frontière de Thrace, signée à Lausanne le 24 Juillet 1923.

Fait à Thessalonique, en double exemplaire, le 31 Juillet 1938.

I. METAXAS Dr. C. KIOSSE·I·VANOFF

...Εθνικοῦ Τυπογραφείου.

ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ
Ο ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

December 23, 1938

Summary of despatch no. 176 from Legation at Sofia dated November 28, 1938.

Subject: Bulgaria after the Munich Conference

In a discussion regarding minorities, the Prime Minister told Mr. Atherton that minorities were questions fraught with difficulties and that any attempt by any one Government, or even two Governments, to raise the question at this time was bound to meet with failure. He felt that Bulgaria's best course was the adoption of the policy of good neighbor in the Balkans and that thereby, if ever in an international conference the question of minorities was raised as a world problem, Bulgaria would be able to put forward her case without prejudice.

Eu:Coe:EMS:SS

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 176 Sofia, November 28, 1938

Subject: Bulgaria after the Munich Conference.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 160, of October 18, 1938, in which reference was made to the interest developing in Bulgaria in the question of minorities. There has been no public official utterance to give any encouragement to public opinion, although the LONDON DAILY EXPRESS did give considerable prominence to remarks made by the Speaker of the Chamber....

G/HC

Chamber that Bulgaria hoped to solve her minority problem by peaceful methods as indicated by the Salonika agreement. Also considerable attention has been centered on this question since the Munich agreement and on an article by Madame Tabouis appearing in the Paris press on November 14, which alleged that the question of Bulgarian minorities was under consideration and would be one of the subjects of conversation raised during the visit to Bucharest of Prince Regent Paul of Yugoslavia in his discussions with King Carol. Although this article was not permitted by the censors to appear in the Bulgarian press, the rumours that a French correspondent with the prominence of Madame Tabouis had stated that Bulgarian claims would be satisfied were generally spread. In my conversation with the Prime Minister (see my telegram No. 29, November 10), I referred to the question of Bulgarian minorities as well as to Madame Tabouis' article. As reported in my telegram, the Prime Minister assured me he had no knowledge of any discussions taking place on Bulgarian minorities and added that in his recent conversation in Nish with the Yugoslav Prime Minister the subject, contrary to the general belief, had not even been broached. He volunteered the information that the conversation at Bucharest between Prince Paul and King Carol would deal almost exclusively with the future of the Little Entente; as to whether it should be maintained, revised or abandoned. The Prime Minister then went on to explain at some length his views on Bulgarian minorities. He said that minorities

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in....

in the Balkans were questions fraught with difficulties and that any attempt by any one government, or two governments even, to raise the question at this time was bound to meet with failure. He felt his country's best course was the adoption of a policy of good neighbor in the Balkans and that thereby, if ever in an international conference the question of minorities was raised as a world problem, Bulgaria would be able to put forward her case without prejudice. In the meantime the Prime Minister said he regretted recent events had led public opinion to believe that the Government might obtain some earlier success.

In my telegram of November 10, I referred to the criticism expressed by certain groups that the Government had not been active in pushing its minority claims, and shortly after the formation of the new Government (see my telegram No. 30, November 15) the Prime Minister took the occasion to speak on foreign policy before the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of Parliament and certain majority members. Although the Prime Minister's remarks were confidential, I enclose a digest which I understand is fairly accurate. It may be noted that possibly for political reasons he was less categoric in his attitude regarding minorities than in his recent conversation with me, but I understand his remarks were generally approved by all who heard them, and his references to the pacts of eternal friendship between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Turkey were warmly applauded.

Yesterday....

Yesterday was the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Neuilly and, as in past years, students demonstrated before various Legations and Government offices. The general tenor of the police and crowds was good-natured, but after the demonstrations had lasted intermittingly for two days, Sofia citizens awoke on Sunday to a day of restricted permission for free circulation on the streets. I understand that this measure was decided upon after demonstrations by students and political agitators before certain of the Legations in Sofia, more markedly the Rumanian Legation, due to stories circulated, and apparently with some foundation, of the shooting by Rumanians of a Bulgarian customs official and the arrest of two Bulgarian soldiers in a boat on the Rumanian side of the Danube. Naturally, the Government's precautions are also aimed against the spread of any of these manifestations of impatience to the younger Army officers.

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Respectfully yours,

Ray Atherton

Enclosure:
Digest of Prime Minister's remarks.

File 710/840.1
RA/MM

Enclosure to despatch No.
176, November 28, Sofia

MEETING OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

At the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee (second during the autumn session), held November 25, the Prime Minister made a detailed survey of the international situation in Europe and particularly in the Balkans. According to a statement made to the press by the Chairman of the committee after the meeting, the Prime Minister formulated the fundamental principles and methods of Bulgarian foreign policy as based on "a firm and loyal attachment to the cause of peace in Europe and particularly in the Balkans; the pacts of eternal friendship with Yugoslavia and Turkey; the desire to arrive at a complete understanding and to pursue active cooperation with Greece and Rumania by gradually solving pending questions in a spirit of sincerity, mutual confidence and practical justice and with a view to creating all indispensable conditions for lasting and constructive peace in the Balkans."

Though not mentioned in the Chairman's statement to the press, the Prime Minister is understood to have said, with reference to Bulgarian minorities and lost territories, that he would not raise at present the question of the rights of Bulgarian minorities in the neighboring countries; a preferable formula would be the satisfaction of "legitimate claims" (1) of Bulgaria and the necessity of meeting the "economic needs" (2) of the country.

As regards the great powers, Bulgaria will maintain her present loyal relations with all of them and continue her neutral attitude. The Prime Minister assured the Committee that the Government missed no opportunity to promote the case of Bulgaria in the proper official quarters which is more important than impressing foreign public opinion. He insisted on moderation, self-control and caution in the present complicated and uncertain situation in Europe.

The Prime Minister's statement was warmly approved by the deputies present who thanked him for his willingness to inform Parliament on problems of foreign policy. In the course of the questioning which followed, several deputies of the opposition expressed apprehensions and made certain recommendations, but there was no criticism of the essential lines and methods of the foreign policy as outlined by the Prime Minister. As the Chairman of the Committee pointed out in his statement to the press, "the discussion revealed unity of views among the members of Parliament on the main lines of foreign policy of the Government and the manner of carrying it out." It is understood that none of the opposition speakers suggested a different political course.

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1) This presumably means the retrocession of former Bulgarian territories, particularly the Dobrudja.

2) This doubtless covers an outlet to the Aegean.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, December 7, 1938.

No. 2599.

Subject: Annual Conference of the Chiefs of Staff of the Balkan Entente.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Greek Government has been host, during the past ten days, to the Annual Conference of the General Staffs of the Balkan Entente, held here under the Presidency of General Alexander Papagos, Chief of the Greek General Staff.

The foreign delegations were composed as follows:

1. Turkey.

Marshal Febzi Çakmak, Chief of the General Staff;
General Veisel Univar, General of Division;
Counselor of Embassy Sedat Zeki Ors;
Colonel Sefik Çakmak, of the General Staff;
Colonel Behaeddin Kuban, of the General Staff;
Captain Ruhi Devecioglu, of the Navy General Staff;

Colonel

Colonel Mehmet Ali Okdemir, of the Signal Corps;
Lt. Col. Ihsan Eriç, of the General Staff;
Captain Tefvik Samurkas, of the Navy General Staff;
Captain Server Gokdeniz, of the Navy General Staff;
Captain Nureddin Alpkartal, of the General Staff;
Captain Remzi Soyoguz, of the Air Corps;
Captain Ihsan Ozgil, of the Air Corps;
Captain Refik Tolga, of the General Staff.

2. Rumania.

General Stephan Ionescu, Chief of the General Staff;
Brigadier General Ion Popescu;
Lieutenant Colonel Aurel Moloveanu;
Lieutenant Colonel Alexandru Coslovschi;
Lieutenant Colonel Paul Leonida;
Lieutenant Colonel Constantin Lupescu;
Lieutenant Colonel Romulus Aldea;
Lieutenant Colonel Ion Lovinescu;
Commanders Vasile Petro and Constantin Celareanu;
Captains Mircea Trifon and Nicolas Dragodanescu

3. Yugoslavia.

General Duchan Simovitch, Chief of General Staff;
General of Division, Mileu Radenkovitch;
Brigadier General Radivoje Iankovitch;
Artillery Colonels Alexandre Stoitchevitch and
Vassili Petkovitch;
Colonel of Infantry, Andrea Bozanovitch;
Colonel of Aviation, Branko Naoumovitch;
Commandant of Engineers, Mihailo Lazovitch;
Naval Captain Miloje Ielisawtchitch;
Air Commandant Lubomil Giouritch;
Artillery Commandant, Bozidar Milovanovitch.

Assisting General Papagos, on the part of the Greek Government, were:

General Platis, Asst. Chief of General Staff;
Rear Admiral Sakellariou, Chief of Staff of Navy;
Colonel Gazis, Chief of Staff of Air Corps;
General Pitsikas, Commander of 1st Army Corps;
General Bakos, Commander of 2nd General Division;
General Papanicolaou, Commander of Athens Garrison;
Colonel Calogeropoulos, Chief of 2nd Bureau of the
General Staff.

The delegates arrived on November 26th, and busied themselves on that day and the next with their installation, the exchange of visits, and like amenities. On the 27th they were entertained at luncheon by General Papagos, at which toasts were delivered by the host and

1/ Marshal Çhakmak, translations of which are enclosed.

The

The meetings began on the 28th and continued in the late forenoon of the 29th, most of which was devoted to the ceremony of laying wreaths on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In the afternoon the delegates inspected the Greek Powder and Cartridge plant at Piraeus, where they were cordially received by the wily Bodosakis Athanasiades, current Greek candidate for the throne of the late Sir Basil Zaharoff. The labors of the conference were then suspended for two days because of the Yugoslav national holiday, which some of the delegates put to good use for visits to museums and archeological sites. On December 2nd, further sessions were held. On the morning of the 3rd, the visitors were taken through the ceramic factory Keramikos, and the Papastratos cigarette manufactory. A large part of the afternoon was taken up with a banquet luncheon given by the Prime Minister, which was the occasion for further toasts, translations
1/ of which are likewise enclosed, emphasizing the solidarity of the Entente and warning whoever it might concern against attempting to alter Balkan boundaries "traced by the blood of the glorious dead". December 4th was Sunday, and there were a number of excursions. On Monday visits were made to the silk factories near Rizopolis and to the woolen textile factories outside Athens. The meeting was resumed on the 6th and terminated that afternoon "in the most perfect spirit of solidarity and understanding".

Intercalated in this program were receptions by the Prince Regent and the Under Minister of War, by the Chiefs of the visiting Missions, and the diplomats of the countries represented. Luncheons and dinners at

which

which formal elocutions were not delivered succeeded each other regularly.

I hazard boring the Department with the foregoing details only because it gives point to the opinion of most observers that the gathering was, in fact, largely of a social nature, and that very little was done in the way of realistic consultation and planning. In the words of the British Military Attaché: "They were obviously so busy filling their bellies with food and wine, expressing their admiration for Greek factories, and going on excursions to ancient places, that they didn't have time for anything else."

It is the general impression that, aside from an exchange of information, the conference was limited to a very general discussion of such current problems as the Munich settlement, revived Bulgarian revisionism, German economic penetration in Southeastern Europe, and possibly a consideration of measures to be taken in the event of hostilities in the Eastern Mediterranean involving Italy against France and Great Britain. Local observers doubt that the question of joint defense against a German-supported attack by Hungary or Bulgaria on Rumania or Yugoslavia was even discussed, because they do not believe that Turkey and Greece would go to the assistance of their northern allies in such event.

However, the conference was timely from the point of view of recent developments in Europe. It gave the Balkan Entente countries an opportunity to repeat warnings against revision, from behind a façade which

looked,

looked, at least, like a united front. And it undoubtedly did a certain amount of good in developing fellowship and good will among the participants.

Respectfully yours,

Harold Shantz,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosure:

1. Translations of Toasts Exchanged During Conference.

File No. 710.

FDK/pe

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 2599 of December 8, 1938, from American Legation, Athens Greece, on the subject of Conference of General Staffs of the Balkan Entente.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: Messager d'Athènes, November 29, 1938.

Toast of General Papagos, Greek Chief of Staff, at Luncheon Given to General Staffs of the Balkan Entente, November 27, 1938.

Mr. Marshal, Gentlemen, and dear Colleagues:

I am particularly happy to welcome you to our Capital and I beg you to allow me to salute in your persons, at the same time, the eminent chiefs of the glorious armies of Turkey, of Rumania, and of Yugoslavia.

We are meeting again to place a new landmark of close collaboration. Our conference, which is one of the essential organs of the Balkan Entente, must inspire itself in its labors from the fundamental ideas which direct that Entente; of peace, of fraternity, and of progress.

But it is well known that in order to be able to practice a policy, a real fruitful policy of peace, it is necessary to be in possession of the necessary force to sustain and defend it under any circumstances and that these noble ideas of peace, fraternity and progress can only become real if they are based upon the solid foundation of international security. That security cannot find in this corner of Europe a better foundation than in the close union of our four armies, which constitute a bloc of evident importance and a prime factor of order and tranquility in southeastern Europe. The increasingly perfect organization of that cooperation is the purpose of our regular periodic meetings which are characterized by that spirit of frankness and loyalty of all military people.

It is with sentiments of confidence and pride that I raise my glass in honor of the allied armies and of their supreme chiefs, H. M. the King of Rumania, H. M. the King of Yugoslavia, H.M. the Prince Regent of Yugoslavia, H.E. the President of the Republic of Turkey, as well as to your personal happiness, Gentlemen and dear Colleagues.

Response of Marshal Febzi Tchakmak, the Turkish Chief of Staff.

Mr. General:

It is the first time that we have had the satisfaction of seeing gathered here on the hospitable soil of Greece the Chiefs of Staff of the allied armies of the Balkan Entente.

The

The annual conferences provided for have taken place regularly and I believe that you will all agree that these meetings, as well as those of the experts, have been of the greatest value and have permitted us to develop, more each time, our harmonious collaboration which has the purpose of maintaining the peace throughout our beautiful area.

These frequent contacts, which are the proof of the spirit of confident friendship which unites us, have proved themselves rich in happy results.

Certain recent developments permit us, furthermore, to note with satisfaction that in an ever-widening region in the Balkans, an atmosphere of conciliation and of rapprochement tends progressively to be established.

However this development would not authorize us to overlook the positive realities of international politics which teach us more and more the necessity of being ready for the day when peace may, even so, have need of the guarantee of our force and of the support of our common defense. The nations united in the Balkan Pact which is the highest expression of the desire for peace and stability which animates us all have done us the honor of entrusting to us their most priceless possession: the treasure of their heroic and valiant youth and the charge of protecting our common interests. They may be sure that we will not fail in the duty falling to us which is the gauge of the sacred character of the charge of which we must give them an account. It is in this spirit that, animated by the certainty that our solidarity will show itself every day stronger and more efficacious, that I take the opportunity to thank Your Excellency for the admirable hospitality and for the brotherly reception which we are receiving.

Permit me to raise my glass in my name and in the name of the Rumanian and Yugoslav Chiefs of Staff, to drink to the health of H.M. George II, King of the Greeks, to that of H.R.H. the Prince Regent, to the health of Your Excellency, Mr. General, and to the valiant Greek Army.

FDK/pe

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 2599 of December 8, 1938, from American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of the Conference of the General Staffs of the Balkan Entente.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: Messager d'Athènes, December 4, 1938.

Toast of Mr. Metaxas, Prime Minister of Greece, at Luncheon in Honor of the Chiefs of Staff of the Balkan Entente, December 4, 1938.

Mr. Marshal, Gentlemen:

It is a particular honor and pleasure for me to salute, in the name of the Royal Government and the Greek Army, the worthy representatives of the valiant allied armies, and to wish you the most cordial welcome.

First of all, may it be permitted to me to render homage to the memory of the great, regretted Chief of the noble Turkish nation, friend and ally, President Kemal Ataturk, who was one of the principal founders of the Balkan Entente, and of whom we all preserve a cherished remembrance. The reception which has been given you bears witness to the unalterable friendship of Greece for your noble countries to which she is united by common traditions, interests and ideals. Your meeting in Athens does not have the character of a courtesy visit or of a simple manifestation of friendship. Your presence here is symbolical. It confirms in fact yet another time the strong solidarity of our four countries as well as their profound attachment to the Balkan Entente, the unshakeable foundation of peace in the Peninsula.

On the other hand, this meeting does not constitute a menace towards anyone. It is not, and could not be, motivated by aggressive purposes: it is well known that our four countries have never ceased loyally to serve the cause of peace. It is motivated by the constant development of the Balkan Entente which explains the usefulness of frequent contacts between its statesmen and its military chiefs in view of a judicious co-ordination of common efforts.

Inspired by the noble ideal of concord and of peace, our four States are necessarily concerned to assure the security and the happiness of their sorely-tried peoples. They are inspired by the sincere desire to maintain the best relations with their neighbors and do not covet the goods of anyone else. But at the same time they are firmly decided to safeguard their national territory, the definite frontiers of which have been traced by the blood of their glorious dead. They aspire to a peace founded on dignity and honor which at this moment, more than ever before, cannot be effectively preserved without the detailed organization of their national defense and without a close contact between their armies.

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It is to you, gentlemen, that this task has been entrusted. Your authority as well as your tried competence, bespeak your success. Thus it is particularly agreeable to me to render homage to the unceasing zeal that you are showing in the accomplishment of your high mission. Our union makes our strength, that strength which we have not ceased to use for peaceful ends and which permits us to look forward to the future with confidence;and so we may congratulate ourselves upon our action, already so fruitful in happy results.

The recent Salonika Agreement, freely negotiated and concluded between the States of the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, marks a decisive step in the happy evolution of this effort of rapprochement and understanding between all the countries of the Peninsula. I want to hope that in creating an atmosphere of detente, and in establishing between them a permanent cooperation, this Agreement inaugurates the new era of prosperity and progress so ardently desired by the Balkan peoples.

It is in this spirit that I raise my glass to the health of H.M. King Carol of Rumania, of H.E. Mr. Ismet Inönu, President of the Turkish Republic, of H.M. King Peter II of Yugoslavia, of H.R.H. Prince Regent Paul and the Members of the Regency, to the grandeur and the prosperity of the Rumanian, Turkish and Yugoslav nations, friends and allies, to the glory of their valiant armies, and to your personal happiness, Mr. Marshal and Gentlemen.

Response of Marshal Febzi Tchakmak, the Turkish Chief of Staff.

Mr. President:

Before replying in the name of my colleagues to the fine words which you have been good enough to address to us, I should like to thank you for the moving words in which you have rendered homage to the high memory of President Ataturk.

Only several days ago I had the honor of saluting Your Excellency as the worthy chief of the delegation that Greece, friend and ally, sent upon Turkish soil to bear witness to the part that our friends the Greek people took, and are still taking, in the mourning which has so cruelly come upon us. This was to us a very great comfort.

Ataturk, as Your Excellency has just shown in such expressive terms, had been one of the principal constructors of this Balkan Entente of which our meeting here is, at the same time, a result and, as you have just said, the symbol.

You have just celebrated this Entente, Mr. President, with an eloquence which it would be difficult to equal.

You

You have pointed out all the advantages deriving from it for our countries, as well as for the accomplishment of the atmosphere of peace, concord and stability of which our region is today an example of which we may be proud. You have likewise pointed out the interest and significance of our periodic meetings. I shall therefore limit myself to second your fine words in the name of all of us, simply adding that it is certain, as you have yourself said, that these periodic meetings do not constitute a threat against anyone. They permit us, however, each time to further develop our cooperation and to regulate the play of our forces for the greater good of our common defense and of our mutual interests, which are also those of peace. They seem to me, and I am sure to my Colleagues, every day more valuable to the extent that the international situation makes it increasingly necessary to contemplate the possibility that this peace, which is so precious to us, may have need of the protection and the support of our united cooperation.

Our pact, I cannot express it strongly enough, constitutes the surest guarantee of the unshakeable stability of the political status in our region.

I should not like to conclude these few words expressing the satisfaction which I feel and which you all feel here in seeing our collaboration develop more and more effectively, without associating myself with the allusion that Your Excellency made to the Salonika Agreement, recently concluded by you in the name of the Governments of the Entente, with our common neighbor, Bulgaria: a happy event that I did not fail to mention in replying to the friendly toast of General Papagos, when I also emphasized the necessity of continuing as in the past to apply the lessons which we are learning from the international situation.

Likewise, I do not wish to finish these few sentences without trying to interpret the feeling shared by all of us who are today the guests of Greece, which is one of gratitude for the cordial hospitality and the brotherly welcome which we are receiving here.

I raise my glass in the name of my colleagues and in my own name to drink to the health of H.M. George II, King of the Greeks, to that of H.R.H. the Prince Regent, and to you, Mr. President, as well as to your personal happiness and to that of the valiant Greek Army and to the felicity of the great Greek Nation.

FDK/pe

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 2599 of December 8, 1938, from American Legation, Athens, Greece, on the subject of Conference of General Staffs of the Balkan Entente.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: Messager d'Athènes, December 7, 1938.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CLOSE OF CONFERENCE
December 6, 1938.

The work of the Conference of the General Staffs of the Balkan Entente, held in Athens, terminated today, December 6th, at 7 p.m., and took place in an atmosphere of complete fraternity. On all questions which were studied the decisions were taken in an entire unanimity and in the most perfect spirit of solidarity and understanding.

FDK/pe

PHA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

WSM

PA

January 6, 1939.

Summary of Despatch no. 190, from Sofia, dated December 14, 1938.

Subject: Remarks of the Prime Minister on Balkan Policies.

The achievements of the recent visit of a French economic commission to Belgrade, Sofia and Bucharest were practically nil. The French were principally interested in Bulgarian sunflower seed and corn, crops for both having been failures this year. French prices, compared with Germany, are too high for the Bulgarians.

Recent staff talks between the countries of the Balkan Pact resulted in no agreement, particularly on the question of unified command of troops against an aggressor.

The Prime Minister expects continued cordial relations with Turkey under the new President and that Turkey would withdraw from European politics, accompanied by a limited rapprochement with Russia.

With reference to King Carol's recent visits to London and Berlin, the Prime Minister stated that Carol did not get what he wanted and was refused the exchange

of

of Ambassadors at both places; that Carol expects to visit Rome this winter. Carol and his policies are at the crossroads in that the Little Entente has gone by the board and Rumania has no friends. Rumania can now chose between the Rome-Berlin axis or go with Poland in an accord with Russia in which event there would be questions of territories at which time Bulgaria would bring up the Dobrudja. While Carol has lost popularity with the Rumanian people, the Prime Minister does not agree that the dynasty is unpopular since the popularity of Prince Mihail continues.

Eu:Culbertson:MLD

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No.190 Sofia, December 14, 1938.

Subject: Remarks of the Prime Minister on Balkan Policies.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS JAN 4 1939 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

770.00
RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1939 JAN 3 PM 3 08
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS
Distribution Instructions
DEPARTMENT OF STATE JAN 24 1939 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS Mr. Dunn JAN 7 1939 DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE ADVISER ON INTERNATIONAL JAN 26 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE JAN 1939
770.00/592
FILED FEB 6 - 1939

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that an occasion presented itself yesterday to have a somewhat extended talk with the Prime Minister. The conversation opened with a reference to the French economic mission (see despatch No. 189, of December 12, 1938), which had recently visited Belgrade, Sofia and Bucharest. The Prime Minister stated that the achievements of this mission in Belgrade and Bucharest were, according to his information, practically nil, while in this

country...

country they had been able to discuss certain clearing and tariff arrangements which might increase trade between the two countries. The Prime Minister, however, did point out that the only Bulgarian crops which the French expressed any interest in at the moment were sunflower seed and corn, which it is common knowledge were a failure here this year due to the drought. The Prime Minister also went on to point out that Bulgaria had not been able to conclude any purchases under the French credit (see despatch No. 164, of November 3, 1938), since French prices, with the premium which would have to be paid to transfer payment in francs, were far in excess of quotations from other countries, particularly Germany.

The Prime Minister then referred to the general staff talks between the countries of the Balkan Pact which have just been concluded in Athens, without any agreement, however, on the point on which Bulgaria was most concerned, namely, as to the unification of command for troops used against an aggressor which, in this academic discussion at Athens, presumably was Bulgaria.

As regards Turkey, the Prime Minister expected under the new President the same cordial relations with Bulgaria as had existed under Kemal Ataturk, but he felt that the tendency of the new régime would be to withdraw from European politics accompanied by a limited rapprochement with Russia, which was necessary if Turkey wished to play the preponderant rôle in the affairs of Asia Minor.

The....

The Prime Minister then touched on the recent trip of Regent Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, which he said had three reasons: First, to Switzerland where Queen Marie of Yugoslavia was to undergo an operation; secondly, to London where each autumn Prince Paul took his children to outfit them as well as for medical attention; and, thirdly, Prince Paul had been informed that Mr. Chamberlain did not favor certain démarches which Prince Paul had attempted to make in England through the good offices of his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Kent. The Prime Minister said Prince Paul was most anxious to set this right with the appropriate British officials.

The Prime Minister then made reference to the recent visit of King Carol to England, which he said had been accomplished with the utmost pomp, but without King Carol obtaining any of the ends he had in view and that the British had flatly refused to exchange Ambassadors with Rumania. The Germans had likewise not given King Carol satisfaction and refused to exchange Ambassadors, although the French in the Paris visit had agreed to establish an Embassy in Bucharest. The Prime Minister then went on to say King Carol was to make a visit to Rome in the early winter. The Prime Minister continued by outlining his personal views as to the Rumanian situation. He felt King Carol and his policies were at the crossroads in that the Little Entente had completely gone by the board and Rumania had made no friends. The Prime Minister said Rumania under

King....

King Carol had for some time lacked a coherent foreign policy and, nevertheless, had tried to play an important rôle in the European situation. Today two alternatives confronted the King: one, to come within the orbit of the Rome-Berlin axis or, two, for Rumania to follow her ally, Poland, in an accord with Soviet Russia. In either of these eventualities, went on the Prime Minister, the question of territories, such as Besserabia and Transylvania, is bound to come up and at that time Bulgaria will bring up the Dobrudja. The Prime Minister told me that the Polish Minister in Sofia, under instructions from his Government, had just completed a tour of Rumania and he had stated very confidentially on his return here that he found King Carol's unpopularity so great that it was even creating a certain feeling against the dynasty. The Prime Minister said he did not agree with this, as not only were the Rumanian people a very submissive race, but, in the Prime Minister's opinion, the popularity of Prince Mihail continued, even though the Prime Minister had heard from many sources of the decreasing popularity of the King.

At the end of the conversation the Prime Minister referred to a talk he had with me last week in which he had expressed his readiness to retire from the office of Prime Minister in the present Government, but because of the present situation in foreign affairs had been willing to accede to the King's request that he make no move at this time.

Respectfully yours,

Ray Atherton

File 710
RA/MM

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

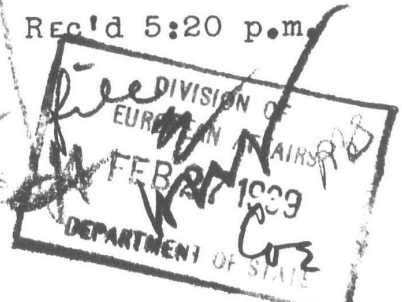
NC
A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

FROM

BELGRADE

Dated Feb. 25, 1939

Rec'd 5:20 p.m.



Secretary of State

Washington

16, February 25, 1 p.m.

770.00

770.00/593

(GRAY) The Yugoslav and Turkish Foreign Ministers arrived in Belgrade from Bucharest on February 23 after the termination of the Balkan Entente conference. Saradjoglu departed Turkey this morning after a 36 hour visit during which he was received by Prince Paul and engaged in long conversations with Yugoslav officials. The local press features his visit, calls attention to the close relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey and unanimously refers to the Balkan Entente conference as a brilliant success (END GRAY)

Fodor of the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS and the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN was at Bucharest for the conference and is now in Belgrade. He has excellent connections with the Greeks and the Turks and has told me today the following as coming from persons close to Metaxas and Saradjoglu: (one) The conference was indeed a success and there was a real identity of views; (two) previous conferences had

been

FP

been dominated by Stojadinovic whom the Greeks, Turks, and Rumanians suspected as passing on information regarding the deliberations to Berlin and Rome; (three) Cincar-Markovic at Bucharest made no difficulties nor was there any Yugoslav embarking on a gesture toward the axis; (four) the conference decided that general discussions will soon take place to implement some of the decisions taken; (five) there was much discussion of ways and means of resisting German and secondarily Italian political and economic pressure; and (six) the feeling of Balkan solidarity and a determination to maintain the independence of the Balkan states was strong.

Fodor states that he was told by both the Turks and the Greeks that their countries were definitely on the side of the western democracies and in case of a general conflict both Greece and Turkey would be with England and France. He added that Turkish and Greek fear and hatred of Italy is very apparent. He thinks that Rumania although notably weak militarily and chaotic politically would eventually be on the same side and that Yugoslavia due to its exposed situation to German and Italian attack would endeavor to maintain its neutrality as long as possible but would inevitably come in against Germany. I am in entire accord with this view regarding Yugoslavia.

JOYCE

EMB
ROW

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 868.00/1073 FOR #2715

FROM Greece (MacVeagh) DATED Jan.31, 1939

TO NAME

1—1127 ...

REGARDING:

Possible withdrawal of Yugoslavia from the Balkan Entente.

Substance of conversation with the British Minister, Sir Sydney Waterlow, concerning -.

770.00 /594

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/597 Confidential File FOR Tel. 7- 10am

FROM Bulgaria (Atherton) DATED Feb. 27,1939
TO NAME

1—1127

770.00/595

REGARDING: Balkan Entente Conference. Interview between Prime Minister and Mr. Saracoglu before opening of the- at Bucharest in regard to Bulgarian adherence.

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Confidential File

575

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, February 14, 1939.

No. 2766.

Subject: Transfer of Presidency of the Balkan Entente.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 14 1939
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
MAR 13 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 10 1939
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
APR 4 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1939 MAR 9 PM 2 19

770.00/596

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

FILED
APR 5 1939

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on February 9, 1939, the fifth anniversary of the formation of the Balkan Entente, and in conformity with its statutes, the Presidency of the Council of the Entente was transferred from Greece to Rumania.

I enclose, for the information and records of the Department, copies and translations of the telegrams exchanged on that occasion between Mr. John Metaxas, Premier and Foreign Minister of Greece, as the outgoing

President,

President, and his successor, Mr. Gregory Gafencu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rumania.

Though Mr. Metaxas speaks in his telegram of the fruitfulness "in happy results" of the Entente, it may be pertinent to remark that during his Presidency little would seem to have been done to allay Greek suspicions of Yugoslavia's rapprochement with Bulgaria, which I have reported on frequently in my despatches, and especially in my despatch No. 2069 of January 24, 1938. Indeed, the Nish conversations between the Prime Ministers of those countries in October of last year actually imparted to these suspicions a new emphasis. (See the Legation's despatch No. 2564 of November 3, 1938). Furthermore the gravitational stress affecting both Yugoslavia and Rumania as Germany advances to the southeast, and the fact that Britain still remains a factor of great importance in the foreign policies of Greece and Turkey, appear to be creating a situation distinctly dangerous to the Entente's cohesion, never very strong.

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh.

Lincoln MacVeagh.

2-1

Enclosures:
1. Translations of exchange of telegrams between Messrs. John Metaxas and Gregory Gafencu.
2. Copies of original texts of telegrams.

File No. 710

FDK/LMacV/jr

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 2766 of February 14, 1939, from the Legation at Athens, on the subject of the transfer of the Presidency of the Balkan Entente.

TRANSLATION

Source: MESSAGER D'ATHENES, February 11, 1939.

* * *

Telegrams exchanged between Messrs. John Metaxas, Premier and Foreign Minister of Greece, and Gregory Gafencu, Foreign Minister of Rumania, February 9, 1939.

To Mr. Gafencu:

It is with the liveliest satisfaction that I have the honor to announce to your Excellency that, in conformity with the statutes of the Balkan Entente, you are called, beginning tomorrow, to the Presidency of the Permanent Council. In presenting my warmest congratulations to your Excellency on this occasion, as well as my sincerest wishes for the success of your task, I desire to express my strong conviction that your deep attachment to the great peaceful work that we are undertaking in common and to which we have consecrated all our efforts, will give a new stimulus to the activity of the Balkan Entente, already so fruitful in happy results. I am convinced that under the enlightened leadership of your Excellency, the beneficial action of the Balkan Entente will develop increasingly for the greatest good of peace in the Peninsula, and of peace elsewhere.

Reply of Mr. Gafencu:

I am grateful to your Excellency for the wishes you were good enough to express to me at the moment when I have the honor to succeed you in the Presidency of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente. I avail myself of the opportunity to assure your Excellency that I shall devote all my efforts to the maintenance and development of the work of peace that we have undertaken in common and which, under the high direction of your Excellency during the past year, achieved results which are so happy and so much in conformity with the interests and peaceful aspirations of our friendly and allied peoples. I desire likewise to assure your Excellency of the joy with which the Rumanian Government and I personally look forward to your coming visit to Bucharest.

FDK/jr

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 2766 of February 14, 1939, from the Legation at Athens, on the subject of the transfer of the Presidency of the Balkan Entente.

COPY

Source: MESSAGER D'ATHENES
February 11, 1939.

* * * *

LES DEPECHES ECHANGEES

A l'occasion de la transmission de la présidence du Conseil de l'Entente Balkanique au ministre des affaires étrangères de Roumanie, le chef du gouvernement M. Métaxas a adressé à M. Gafencu la dépêche suivante:

C'est avec la plus vive satisfaction que j'ai l'honneur d'annoncer à Votre Excellence que, conformément au Statut de l'Entente Balkanique, Elle est appelée à partir de demain à la présidence de son Conseil Permanent. En présentant, à cette occasion, à Votre Excellence, avec mes plus chaleureuses félicitations, mes voeux les plus sincères pour le succès complet de sa tâche, je tiens à lui exprimer ma ferme conviction que son attachement profond à la grande oeuvre pacifique que nous poursuivons en commun et à laquelle nous avons consacré tous nos efforts, donnera une nouvelle impulsion à l'activité de l'Entente Balkanique, déjà si féconde en résultats heureux. Je suis convaincu que sous la conduite éclairée de Votre Excellence l'action bienfaisante de l'Entente Balkanique se développera encore davantage pour le plus grand bien de la paix dans la Péninsule, et de la paix générale.

M. Gafencu a répondu par la dépêche suivante:

Je suis reconnaissant à Votre Excellence pour les voeux qu'elle a bien voulu m'exprimer au moment où j'ai l'honneur de lui succéder à la Présidence du Conseil Permanent de l'Entente Balkanique. Je profite de cette occasion pour assurer Votre Excellence que je m'emploierai de toutes mes forces à maintenir et développer l'oeuvre de paix que nous poursuivons en commun et qui, sous la haute direction de Votre Excellence, a atteint dans le courant

de

de l'année passée des résultats si heureux et si conformes aux intérêts et aux aspirations pacifiques de nos peuples amis et alliés. Je tiens également à assurer Votre Excellence de la joie avec laquelle le gouvernement roumain et moi-même attendons sa prochaine arrivée à Bucarest.

/jr

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EDA GPO

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (D)

FROM

PARIS

Dated March 9, 1939

Received 1:25 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

9 1939
DEPARTMENT OF

443, March 9, 5 p.m. (SECTION ONE).

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY.

Daladier and the Polish Ambassador lunched with me today and discussed the situation in Central and Eastern Europe. During the conversation the Polish Ambassador stated that the visit of Gafenco to Warsaw had resulted in Rumania giving entire approval to the Polish proposal that Ruthenia eventually should be occupied by Polish and Hungarian troops and given to Hungary. The Polish Ambassador added that Beck had agreed with Gafenco that Poland should undertake negotiations immediately for reconciliation between Hungary and Rumania on the basis of a greatly increased liberty for the Hungarians of Transylvania and Rumanian permission for Hungary to take Ruthenia. He said that as soon as this agreement should have been worked out a Hungarian occupation of Ruthenia was to be expected.

BULLITT

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

FROM Paris

Dated March 9, 1939

Rec'd 1:55 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

DIVISION OF EURO
9 1939
DEPARTMENT OF

443, March 9, 5 p.m. (SECTION TWO).

The Polish Ambassador reiterated to Daladier what he had said to me previously, to wit: that the only reason Hungary did not today own Ruthenia was because the Hungarian Government under Imredy had not dared to act at the crucial moment. He said that in case Poland and Hungary should act in the near future the only thing to be expected from Germany would be a note of protest.

The Polish Ambassador pointed out that resistance to German advance in Central and Eastern Europe since Munich had been provided not by France and England, both of whom had been rather visibly anxious to have Germany turn her hostile intentions towards Russia, but on the contrary by Poland, Hungary and Rumania, all of which states knew that they had everything to lose by German domination. The Polish Ambassador said that relations between Rumania and Poland had never been so close as they were today and added Polish Hungarian relations had never been closer.

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BULLITT

770.00/597

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EG

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

FROM Paris

Dated March 9, 1939

Rec'd 3 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

770.00/597

443, March 9, 5 p.m. (SECTION THREE).

While it would be impossible for Poland to form anything that could be called "a bloc" composed of Poland, Rumania and Hungary in opposition to German expansion to the southward and eastward, in point of fact Poland would do everything possible to strengthen Rumanian and Hungarian resistance to German advance. He stated to Daladier that he believed that this should also be the policy of France. The strengthening of national resistance to the advance of Germany in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia should be the basis of French policy. Daladier agreed that this sounded sensible.

Both Daladier and the Polish Ambassador were of the opinion that the Soviet Union was to be counted on for nothing. They both felt that it was certain that internal conditions in the Soviet Union would prevent the Red Army from

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Confidential File

from taking any active part in any war anywhere and both agreed that no reliance could be based on any promises of Soviet support in the form of supplies to Poland or Rumania. Both agreed also that if Hitler should be willing it would not take a half hour to form an alliance between Germany and the Soviet Union. Stalin was panting for such an agreement.)

761.62

BULLITT

WWC:PEG

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
MAR 13 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

GPO

REB

FROM

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (D)

PARIS

Dated March 9, 1939

Rec'd 2:40 p. m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 14 1939

Secretary of State,

Washington.

SECRETARY OF STATE
MAR - 9 1939
NOTED

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
MAR 10 1939
MR. WELLES

443, March 9, 5 p. m. (SECTION FOUR)

Daladier stated with the greatest possible emphasis to the Polish Ambassador that there could be no possible question of any French concessions whatsoever to Italy at the present time. He would not give way to blackmail. He had given his final orders this morning for further reenforcement of French troops in Tunisia. If the Italians wanted war they could have it. They would be defeated. He did not propose to discuss any concessions of any kind to Italy.

The Polish Ambassador informed me that Beck now expected to go to London on the second of April and would not visit Paris en route. He said that Beck was extremely angry because the French press had been so delighted by the student demonstrations against Germany while Ciano was in Poland. Moreover the French Ambassador in Warsaw, Noel, had apparently taken an attitude toward these

demonstrations

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FILED
MAR 14 1939

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demonstrations which had infuriated Beck. Beck therefore had been compelled to be more amiable in his conversations with Ciano than he had wished to be. There had been no agreements. I gathered, however, that Beck had expressed to Ciano Poland's interest in an eventual general redistribution of colonies.

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The Polish Ambassador said that he had received a letter from Beck this morning stating that his impression after his conversations with Ciano was that Italy at the present moment would not dare to risk war with France.

(END MESSAGE)

BULLITT

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RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1939 MAR 10 PM 1 17
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
MAR 13 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Brussels, February 28, 1939.

No. 224

Subject: The Ukraine and the Balkans and Possible Hostilities for This Year.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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MID

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-MAD
MAR 14 1939
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 3 1939
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

MAR 17 1939

OFFICE OF THE ADVISER ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
APR - 1 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

770.00/598

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

With reference to the above entitled matter, I have the honor to report the following:

During the past several days I have had an opportunity to have rather extended interviews with several of the Ministers from the Balkan States.

The Bulgarian Minister, Mr. Siméon Radeff, who for eight years was stationed in Washington, stated that the Bulgarian position with reference to the Balkan Entente was that his country had many minorities included within the boundaries

of . . .

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of adjacent countries which his Government neither during the Versailles Conference nor ever thereafter had accepted, but that the policy of his Government had been not to make this matter a violent issue in its relations with neighboring States but rather to attempt to secure adjustments and amelioration for their people, and that therefore they would maintain an attitude of benevolent interest in the Entente but would not join it, for by so doing it would place the seal of approval and ratification upon the minorities' present status.

He pointed out that their products for export were largely of a character which had a natural outlet in the German market; that the industries of Bulgaria were competing with the other Entente States; and that the Western European democracies did not seem to be able to consume their products, or aid them economically in that respect.

I obtained the impression that Bulgarian foreign policy is under the shadow of fear of Germany. He is of the opinion that the President's utterances and the attitude of the American public on recent developments had a deep impression upon the totalitarian dictators and that the situation as to peace was definitely more optimistic than a few weeks ago.

The Yugoslavian Minister, Mr. Branko Lazarevitch, impresses me as a strong and able man. He has very definite opinions. Some weeks ago he commented upon the extraordinary extent to which the outlet for products of the Balkans had been thrown into German channels. He stated that 54% of the total exports of his country went to Germany, that approximately the same proportions obtained as to Bulgaria and Turkey, and that the proportion in Greece was in the neighborhood

of . . .

of between 80 and 90%; that this situation was due to the fact that the Western democracies made no effort to relieve these countries of their surplus products which had to find markets abroad; and that this development had been very marked during the past two years. He thought, however, that this situation contained its own corrective in the long run, and cited the fact that Yugoslavia was loaded up with a two or three year supply of German aspirin which they had been obliged to take in payment for their goods, and that Greece was similarly loaded up with enormous supplies of typewriters, cameras, etc. which it could not use.

Yesterday he stated to me that in his view the post-Munich pendulum of German influence had extended its arc but that it was now receding. He stated that there were indications that the Balkan States were breathing more freely and less abashed by the Reich. He pointed out that even some benefits had accrued to Yugoslavia from the Munich situation, as indicated by the economic and financial aid which France and England now realized was necessary and which was in process of being given. It was his opinion, in general, that a situation now existed where Europe was in a transitional stage and that the attitude of many of the smaller States indicated that a new balance of power was being worked out, in contrast to that which immediately after Munich looked like complete totalitarian control of Central and Eastern Europe.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph E. Davies

qn.
File No. 711
JED:AFH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

March 24, 1939.

Summary of despatch no. 777 from Legation at Bucharest dated March 1, 1939.

Subject: The Balkan Entente Conference

The usual banquets were held and compliments exchanged during the meeting of the Balkan Entente at Bucharest. No particular significance was attached to the conference, but the meeting progressed in an atmosphere of cordiality. Beyond the customary reaffirmation of solidarity, about the only accomplishments were an agreement to de jure recognition of Franco's Government and the ratification of the proceedings of the Economic Commission of the Balkan Entente. With respect to Franco recognition, each state is free to determine the modalities of its recognition at its convenience. King Carol in a recent interview with Mr. Gunther asked what the United States was going to do about Spain. Apparently Rumania is harboring some 250 refugees in its Madrid Legation and this is an added reason for Rumania to withhold recognition until the requisite assurances are received as to the "guests" in the Legation.

Mr.

Mr. Fodor, who followed closely the work of the Conference, stated that the Entente showed a marked tendency to lean more and more toward the European democracies. Turkey, he had been told by a Turkish delegate, was realizing more and more how directly opposite are her interests and those of Italy in the Eastern Mediterranean. Turkey, he said, would stand by Great Britain in the event of a conflict. Another interesting point was that Italy, which had been urging Yugoslavia and Rumania to settle their differences with Hungary, had now withdrawn her pressure, having ceded her influence to Germany.

The Bulgarian question was in no way settled nor was any progress made with reference to the Hungarian problem. With respect to the latter the Turkish delegate took the view that it lay without the province of the Balkan Entente.

PM

Cor
Eu:Coe:AMR.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 777. Bucharest, March 1, 1939.

EU
NE
PAD

Subject: Balkan Entente Conference at Bucharest February 20 to 22, 1939.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MAR 23 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
Mr. DUNN
APR 1 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 30 1939
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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1939 MAR 21 PM 1 47
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

770.00/599

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

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FILED
APR 6 1939

I have the honor to confirm my telegram No. 28 of February 23, 1 p.m., regarding the Conference of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente which was held at Bucharest from February 20th to 22nd last, and to enclose herewith as a matter of supplementary record in

1/ this connection translations of (1) a detailed program

2/ of the Conference, (2) toasts exchanged by the presiding delegate (Gafencu) and the senior ranking member of the Council (General Metaxas) at a banquet at the Foreign

3/ Office, (3) the communiqué issued at the close of the

4/ Conference, (4) comment made to the press by the

representatives

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representatives of each of the four Balkan Entente
5/ States, and (5) extracts from the local press regarding the accomplishments and the significance of the Conference.

The representatives of the four States who, with their assistants, attended the Conference are the following:

Grégoire Gafencu, Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who took over the Presidency of the Permanent Council from General Metaxas on February 9, 1939.

General Jean Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece.

Sukru Saracoglu, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Alexander Tsintsar Markovitch, Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs.

No particular significance attached to the Conference just concluded other than as the annual meeting of the representatives of a bloc of States which has shown rather remarkable cohesion during troubled times. Three of the representatives were comparatively new at their jobs and the past year had brought substantial internal changes in three of the States represented. But the meeting progressed in an atmosphere of cordiality and the Entente, as such, preserved its general solidarity and unity of attitude, even though there were differing views on some of the questions raised. There is no reason to believe that the meeting was not considered satisfactory by those concerned.

From the communiqué and the various statements

made

made, as well as from information reaching me from talk in the corridors and other sources, it would appear that, beyond the usual reaffirmation of solidarity, about the only accomplishments were an agreement, in principle, to de jure recognition of Franco's Nationalist Government in Spain and ratification of the proceedings of the Economic Commission of the Balkan Entente. The statement regarding Spain, given to the press separately by Foreign Minister Gafencu after reading the official communiqué, was as follows (translation):

> "The Members of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente have decided, in principle, upon de jure recognition of the Government of General Franco, each State being free to determine, at its convenience, the modalities of this recognition."

I understand that both the Greek and Yugoslav delegations wished to have the Entente go on record as according recognition to the Franco Government, but that Rumanian and Turkish opposition led to a compromise whereby each State was left free to take such action individually. The Turkish argument was that the Entente had already given a sufficient degree of recognition to the Nationalist Government by its decision taken last year at Ankara to exchange "General Agents" with Franco (despatch No. 200 of March 8, 1938). Rumania wished to await the action of England and France in this regard, thus identifying her views with those of the democracies, and will probably grant full recognition to Franco after he is recognized by the Governments of those two countries.

I.

I recently had a conversation with the King in which he confined his remarks entirely to Spain, enquiring what the United States would do about recognizing Franco. My reply was to the effect that, as far as I knew, my Government would probably withhold action for the present. It appears that Rumania is harboring some two hundred and fifty refugees in the two properties of the Madrid Legation, which is an added reason for this country to withhold recognition until requisite assurances are received as to their safety and immunity. (Incidentally, the King expressed his vehement opposition, in principle, to the candidacy of Otto of Hapsburg for the Throne of Spain on the ground of temperamental and personal instability for this high post.)

Mr. M. W. Fodor, Central European Correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, who followed closely the work of the Conference, stated afterward that one of his principal impressions was that the Entente as a group showed a marked tendency to lean more and more heavily toward the great European democracies, Great Britain and France, as opposed to the totalitarian States, Germany and Italy. He had been told by a member of the Turkish delegation that Turkey, especially, was realizing more than ever how directly opposed are her interests and those of Italy in the Eastern Mediterranean today and would stand by Great Britain in the event of conflict. Another interesting point which seems to have been brought out was to the effect that Italy, which has been urging Yugoslavia and, through

Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia, Rumania to make a settlement with Hungary, has now withdrawn this pressure, having ceded her influence to Germany in this respect. It seems probable that this is in exchange for Germany's support of Italy's claims in the Mediterranean, the former having been given a free hand to settle Hungary's problems with her nearest neighbors, it being understood, of course, that once Germany is in the ascendency over the economies of Rumania and Yugoslavia, Italy will be given a share of the necessary raw products.

The list of the negative results and undiscussed subjects of the Conference is longer than that of the accomplishments. Among them was the question of relations with Bulgaria. Although the Salonika accord was mentioned in the communiqué and General Metaxas in his speech at the Foreign Office banquet issued what might be construed as a mild invitation to the Bulgarian Government to enter the Balkan Entente, actually these gestures were made for their window-dressing value only, as the Greek delegation, fearing renewed pressure for an outlet on the Aegean, opposed any discussion of the Bulgarian question. I am told, too, that the Rumanians had received warning from the residents of the Dobrudja that they would not tolerate any cession of territory in that area. Consequently, the Bulgarian question was in no way developed. The Bulgarian Minister (Kiroff) stated quite freely at the close of the Conference that the results were entirely negative and that the situation remained unchanged, adding that "they invite us to join them but they will not make

the

the concessions that will make it possible for us to do so".

Neither was any progress made with reference to the Hungarian question. The Turkish delegation appears to have taken the view that the problem of Rumanian and Yugoslav relations with Hungary lay without the province of the Balkan Entente and that minority questions, as such, were internal matters which should be settled by the respective Governments immediately concerned.

My telegram No. 25 of February 15, 5 p.m., spoke of a press report to the effect that Russia was exploring the ground with a view to realizing a "Black Sea Pact" which would bring into one group, or collective security bloc, Turkey, Rumania, Russia, Greece and possibly Bulgaria. Although it was considered that Russia was putting this idea up as a trial balloon for possible attention at the Balkan Entente Conference, actually it was not officially discussed at the meeting. Vice Premier and Minister of Interior Calinescu clamped full censorship on the story immediately after it appeared in the local press, as he considered it capable of causing mischief, and two papers that carried it were promptly suspended for ten days. The Turkish delegation was strongly opposed to the scheme and none of the other delegates seemed anxious to take it up in the discussions.

Some observers have remarked that there was no reference to the League of Nations in the communiqué, speeches or elsewhere during the course of the Conference, and the Little Entente was, of course, nowhere

mentioned

mentioned.

During the course of a conversation which I had with Mr. Saracoglu, he took occasion to speak in extremely high terms of three representatives of the United States in Turkey whom he had known, Admiral Bristol, Mr. Grew and Mr. MacMurray. General Metaxas, likewise, told me that Mr. MacVeagh is held in very high esteem in Athens, particularly because of his profound knowledge of Greek history and archeology, as well as of the Greek language.

The Balkan Entente Press organization held its annual meeting at Bucharest concurrently with that of the Permanent Council.

Respectfully yours,

Franklin Mott Gunther

Franklin Mott Gunther.

Enclosures:

1- Program of Conference;
2- Toasts exchanged at Banquet;
3- Communiqué;
4- Comment to the press by representatives;
5- Press Comment.

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CKH:EMS

Copies to Belgrade, Ankara, Athens,
Budapest, Sofia.

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In translation from LE MOMENT of February 19, 1939.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 777 of March 1, 1939 from American Legation at Bucharest, Rumania.

PROGRAMME OF CONFERENCE OF BALKAN ENTENTE AT BUCHAREST, FEBRUARY 20-22, 1939

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

10.55 a.m. Signing of the registers of His Majesty the King by His Excellency General Jean Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece.

11.05 a.m. Signing of the registers of His Majesty the King by His Excellency Mr. Sukru Saracoglu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

11.15 a.m. Signing of the registers of His Majesty the King by His Excellency Mr. Aleksandar Cincar Markovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia

11.10 a.m. Call of His Excellency General Jean Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, upon His Excellency Mr. Gregoire Gafenco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania.

11.35 a.m. Call of His Excellency Mr. Sukru Sraacoglu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, upon His Excellency Mr. Gregoire Gafenco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania.

11.40 a.m. Call of His Excellency General Jean Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, upon His Holiness the Patriarch Dr. Miron Cristea, President of the Council of Ministers of Rumania.

12.00 noon Call of His Excellency Mr. Aleksandar Cincar Markovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, upon His Excellency Mr. Gregoire Gafenco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania.

12.05 p.m. Call of His Excellency Mr. Sukru Saracoglu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, upon His Holiness the Patriarch Dr. Miron Cristea, President of the Council of Ministers of Rumania.

12.30 p.m. Call of His Excellency Mr. Aleksandar Cincar-Markovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, upon His Holiness the Patriarch Dr. Miron Cristea, President of the Council of Ministers of Rumania.

13.30 p.m.

1.30 p.m. Intimate luncheon given by Their Excellencies the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania and Madam Gregoire Gafenco.

3.30 p.m. Call of His Excellency Mr. Gregoire Gafenco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania, upon His Excellency General Jean Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece.

3.55 p.m. Call of His Holiness the Patriarch Dr. Miron Cristea, President of the Council of Ministers of Rumania, upon His Excellency General Jean Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece.

4.00 p.m. Call of His Excellency Mr. Gregoire Gafenco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania, upon His Excellency Mr. Sukru Saracoglu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

4.25 p.m. Call of His Holiness the Patriarch Dr. Miron Cristea, President of the Council of Ministers of Rumania, upon His Excellency Mr. Sukru Saracoglu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

4.30 p.m. Call of His Excellency Mr. Gregoire Gafenco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania, upon His Excellency Mr. Aleksandar Cincar-Markovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia.

4.30 p.m. Placing of a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by His Excellency General Jean Metaxas, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece.

4.55 p.m. Call of His Holiness the Patriarch Dr. Miron Cristea, President of the Council of Ministers of Rumania, upon His Excellency Mr. Aleksandar Cincar Markovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia.

5.00 p.m. Placing of a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by His Excellency Mr. Sukru Saracoglu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

5.30 p.m. Placing of a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by His Excellency Mr. Alexsandar Cincar-Marcovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia.

5.45 p.m. First meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente at the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

8.30 p.m. Dinner given at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Their Excellencies the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania and Madam Gregoire Gafenco.

10.45 p.m.

10.45 p.m. Reception at the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

10.30 a.m. Second meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente at the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1.30 p.m. Luncheon given at the Presidency of the Council of Ministers by Their Excellencies the Vice President of the Council of Ministers of Rumania and Madam Calinesco.

4.30 p.m. Third meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente at the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

8.00 p.m. Dinner at the Royal Legation of Greece.

9.30 p.m. Concert at the Royal Palace.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

10.30 a.m. Fourth meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente at the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

12.30 p.m. Reading of the official communiqué at the close of the labors of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente and statements to the press.

1.45 p.m. Luncheon at the Turkish Legation.

5.00 p.m. Reception at the Royal Embassy of Yugoslavia.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 777
of March 1, 1939 from the American
Legation, Bucharest.

TOASTS EXCHANGED BY FOREIGN MINISTER GAFENCU AND GENERAL METAXAS AT BALKAN ENTENTE BANQUET, BUCHAREST, FEBRUARY 20, 1939

(Translated from TIMPUL, February 22, 1939)

Address of Mr. Gafencu:

Mr. President, Messrs. Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy and proud that the first honor which I owe to the charge His Majesty the King, my August Sovereign, has deigned to entrust to me is to receive you at Bucharest and to wish you in the name of the Rumanian Government and people, with the joy one feels in meeting dear and faithful friends, welcome in Rumania.

The ties which bind us and whose fifth anniversary we celebrate today increase in strength to the extent that, in a world still deeply troubled, peoples feel the increasingly ardent need of peace. We have in this manner followed and watched the succession of events since our last meeting last year at Ankara: our entente, based on a communion of sentiments and interests, has emerged more united. We will, therefore, follow with determination the task which we have assumed; faithful to the commands of general peace, we will vigilantly guard our own interests. Any effort for détente and rapprochement among powers, great and small, will be followed and encouraged by us with active sympathy.

We wish to collaborate in the solution of the great economic problems, upon which depend in a very great measure the life and security of peoples, in a spirit of understanding and European solidarity. In the same spirit we intend to serve loyally our common ideal of independence. With care not to injure or offend anyone and not to put the weight of our efforts, in the balance of forces, except in the scale of peace, we will defend the order which pernits each one of our countries to fulfill freely its national mission.

We are indebted to the experience and the wisdom of this earth on which we live as neighbors, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, from the Carpathians to the blue islands of the Aegean Sea, from the Mouths of the Danube to the Straits----lands we have so often bloodied with our wars and bellicose exploits----for being able to appreciate at its true value the brotherly understanding which joins us today.

To propose to Europe the Balkan peace as an example

and

and proof of pacific effort, crowned with success, seemed a wager. We have made good this wager. We will continue to make it good with greater resolution, confident in the light which our will for peace spreads and in its power of conviction.

Going over the voluminous files of our Entente I stopped, not without emotion, at these words which so nobly express the object we pursue:

> "The Balkan union is an ideal which has always attracted us. I am happy to note that this ideal is built on an increasingly solid foundation. I am certain that some day we shall attain a perfected form which few dare to think of today. This future is not so far off and I believe that we ourselves may possibly reach it. And they especially who will be able to enjoy it fully will have something to be happy over."

Alas, the one who last year at Ankara spoke these hopeful words will not be able to enjoy the progress of a task in which he believed with his unfailing intuition.

Only a few months ago His Majesty King Carol had the privilege of knowing and appreciating the First President of the Turkish Republic, a deeply ineradicable impression of whom he preserves.

We respectfully bow before the memory of Kemal Ataturk and faithfully preserve the memory of the words with which the great Chief of State affirmed his faith in our Entente.

We are indebted to President Metaxas, who conducted our Entente with great competency last year, having signed at Salonika in our name an Accord with Bulgaria. This important accomplishment is proof of our desire to invite, on a footing of full equality, all neighboring peoples to join us in order to develop in common friendly and good-neighborly relations.

Shall I dare to recall the visit which I recently had the honor to make to Belgrade and which permitted the Governments of the two countries to note that Yugoslavia and Rumania, united by so many ties and common interests, have remained deeply devoted to a policy of understanding and solidarity which keeps in mind the existing realities and those on which the power and security of their states are based? As these principles serve as the very basis of the Balkan Entente, it was natural for the two countries to manifest on that occasion their fidelity toward their Turkish and Greek friends and their unshakable confidence in the future of our union.

With the hope that in the fulfillment of our pacific task the Conference at Bucharest will signify a step forward, I raise my glass and drink to the health

of

of His Royal Majesty the King of the Greeks; to the health of His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia, to His Royal Highness Prince Paul of Yugoslavia and to the members of the High Regency; to the health of His Excellency the President of the Turkish Republic; I drink also to the health of my eminent guests Their Excellencies Messrs. Metaxas, Saracoglu and Tsintsar Marcovitch, as well as to the ladies Metaxas, and Saracoglu who were so kind as to give us the great pleasure of accepting our hospitality. I drink to the glory and the prosperity of the peoples of the Balkan Entente.

Reply of General Metaxas:

Mr. Minister, Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Particularly sensitive to the very kind words you have just uttered, we wish to thank you very warmly.

We were quite moved by the very warm reception you have given us and which again confirms the proverbial Rumanian hospitality.

We were even more touched inasmuch as the expressions of sympathy, of which we have been the object since our arrival in your beautiful capital, are addressed not only to us but also to our countries, which are united with Rumania by indissoluble ties.

Please permit me, therefore, to express to you here our entirely profound gratitude.

I should like to stress our warm admiration of the remarkable progress made in every field by the Rumanian people under the generous stimulation of His Majesty King Carol, who forcefully guides Rumania, our friend and ally, towards her great future.

Please believe us, Mr. Minister, that no one is happier over this fact that we.

Since our last meeting a sorrowful event has deeply affected us, and it was with the greatest emotion that we joined in the national mourning which so brutally struck our friend and ally, Turkey.

In evoking the great figure of Kemal Ataturk, we render homage to the memory of this illustrious chief who was one of the principal creators of the Balkan Entente, in which he reposed his faith with the most noble sincerity.

Our reunion, Gentlemen, takes from the present circumstances its moral and political value and furnishes an opportunity for a new and striking manifestation of our unshakable friendship, marked by the happy event of the

recent

recent raising of our respective Legations to the rank of Embassy, which stresses the increasingly important development of our ties.

Our reunion once again affirms our close tie based on our community of interests, mutual confidence and our profound faith in the ideal of peace.

Is it necessary to repeat that the Balkan Entente does not pursue an aggressive aim? That it is open to all good wills, as in every sincere collaboration, and that, inspired by the desire of entertaining confident relations with all their neighbors, the States which compose it aspire to nothing but peace----a peace based on dignity, mutual respect, liberty of each and all?

We do not come to negotiate or to sign new accords for there is no need of reenforcing those which so closely bind us.

In truth, what tie could be more powerful than that which unites our four States in their will to safeguard the national territory and the inviolability of their frontiers, which the sacrifice of their dead definitely fixed?

What new accord could further strengthen their common and legitimate concern to assure prosperity to their peoples?

We have met to stress our close solidarity, to proclaim that----always faithful to our policy----we will continue to serve loyally the general cause of peace, persevering in the effort which for five years we have pursued in common and which finds its best expression in the recent accord at Salonika, freely negotiated and concluded among the States of the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria.

This accord is the happy result of negotiations inspired by a reciprocal good will looking to the creation of an atmosphere of détente and entente which should permit, at the same time with the establishment of a perfect equality among the States of the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, the development of the most cordial relations.

Attesting to the confidence which characterizes the relations among the responsible statesmen of the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, the accord at Salonika marks a historic stage in the evolution of their relations and authorizes the hope of a better future, so ardently desired by our peoples.

Thus, in the face of the grave difficulties which at this moment so greatly preoccupy all spirits, faced by tomorrow's insecurity in which the world lives, the Balkan Entente brings, to the extent of its means, an effective contribution to the efforts made with a view

to maintaining and consolidating peace.

Let us warmly wish that these noble efforts may be crowned with success.

May they be supported by the desire of peace, which inspires all peoples, so as to restore confidence in order that the ache in every heart shall be followed by peace and serenity and that finally the dawn of a long period of peace shall come.

In this spirit I raise my glass to the health and the personal happiness of His Majesty King Carol of Rumania, for the greatness and prosperity of the noble Rumanian nation, friend and ally, to your health, Mr. Minister, to the health of Mrs. Gafencu.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 777
of March 1, 1939 from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUÉ
ISSUED AT CLOSE OF BALKAN ENTENTE CONFERENCE
AT BUCHAREST, FEBRUARY 20-22 1939

(Translated from TIMPUL of February 22, 1939)

The Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente met at Bucharest on February 20, 21 and 22, 1939, under the Presidency of His Excellency Mr. Gafencu, Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs; Greece being represented by His Excellency Mr. Metaxas, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs; Turkey by His Excellency Mr. Saracoglu, Minister for Foreign Affairs; and Yugoslavia by His Excellency Mr. Tsintsar Markovitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The members of the Permanent Council examined the different aspects of the present international situation and proceeded to a detailed exchange of views on questions which particularly affect the interests of the States of the Balkan Entente.

The members of the Permanent Council unanimously noted that they view in a perfectly identical manner the policy pursued by the Balkan Entente, profoundly attached to the ideal of peace, which has never for a moment since its creation ceased to inspire it.

The Permanent Council in reaffirming the close solidarity which unites the members of the Balkan Entente stresses their unanimous will to continue their efforts in the same spirit.

In this regard the Permanent Council has had the opportunity to congratulate itself on the accord concluded at Salonika on July 31, 1938. This accord is a vivid testimony of the determined will of the member States of the Entente not to disregard anything in the pursuit of a confident collaboration among all the States of the Peninsula on the basis of full equality and absolute respect of their frontiers.

The Permanent Council has ratified the decisions of the Economic Council of the Balkan Entente which met the last time at Istanbul in April, 1938, and expressed the firm hope that the labors of the VIIth session of the Economic Council, which meets at Bucharest in April 1939, will permit closer economic ties and perfect direct communications among the countries of the Balkan Entente.

The next ordinary annual session of the Permanent Council will take place at Belgrade in the month of February 1940.

After

After the reading of the communiqué, Mr. Gafencu gave the following statement to the press:

"The members of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente have decided, in principle, upon de jure recognition of the Government of General Franco, each State being free to determine, at its convenience, the manner of this recognition."

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 777
of March 1, 1939 from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS BY BALKAN ENTENTE REPRESENTATIVES AT CLOSE OF CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 24, 1939

(Translated from TIMPUL, Feb. 22, 1939)

General Metaxas (Greece)

....We separate this evening with the regenerated sentiment of having served not only the idea of the Balkan Entente but also the general cause of peace. Our Entente, younger than ever and full of the most noble hopes, enters the second illustrious period of its existence with pride in having this time been at its best in the task which it has assumed....

Mr. Saracoglu (Turkey)

.....I have the great pleasure of adding that our meeting at Bucharest proved once again that the Balkan Pact remains a solid guarantee of peace and independence for the countries which compose the Entente....

Mr. Markovitch (Yugoslavia)

....We believe in the triumph of the policy of peace and the good neighbor. And we have always been inspired by the desire of removing antagonisms. In the charming framework of the hospitality of the Rumanian capital we worked for the greatest good of our countries and in the interest of peace....

Mr. Gafencu (Rumania)

....A note of optimism came out of these conversations. Naturally, we realize the seriousness of the situation. It appears to us, however, that in certain manifestations, among which must be placed also the important speeches made recently by a few leading statesmen, there can be seen signs of a détente and of a clarification. It is quite evident that we wish to contribute to this détente with all our strength and hearts. And, for us, strength signifies union, and our hearts show us the way to a confident and brotherly collaboration.

When I speak of détente and peace, I think first of those peoples who have known more closely, in recent times, the horrors and injustices of war. We hope that the spring will finally bring back to Spain, at the same time with the sun, the happiness of peace. We are ready to contribute within the limit of our means in

helping

helping the Spanish people heal its wounds and regain its powers of life.

When I speak of peace, I think always of the idea of order. Without order, without the respect of order in ideas and in facts, without the respect of political order and territorial order, peoples cannot, whatever their intentions and good wills, help one another.

This is the truth upon which the Conference at Bucharest gave us the opportunity to reach an accord once more.....

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 777
of March 1, 1939 from the American
Legation, Bucharest.

EXTRACTS FROM LOCAL PRESS COMMENT
BEFORE AND AFTER BALKAN ENTENTE CONFERENCE AT BUCHAREST,
FEBRUARY 20-22, 1939

UNIVERSUL (nationalistic, anti-Semitic), February 20

The conception of the Balkan Entente is, therefore, based on an obligation of superior moral and political order: respect of the right of each nation, and.... increased mutual security in order to be able to develop in peace.

CURENTUL (nationalistic, anti-Semitic), February 20

The political reality of Rumania today, united and consolidated, contributes considerable weight to the task of international collaboration pursued by the Balkan Entente.

TIMPUL (democratic organ), February 20

The Balkan Entente....has never wanted and never has been a bloc directed against anyone.

The Balkan Entente has proved to be on every occasion an instrument of peace, solidarity, defense of order and stability in this part of Europe.... The strength of the Balkan Entente is based on an understanding of the common political interests, which has penetrated deeply, beyond the conviction of diplomats, into the conscience of the peoples united in a common ideal.

The four Ministers for Foreign Affairs will have an opportunity to measure the results obtained in the political, economic and cultural fields and decide on suitable measures to increase accomplishments.....

SEMNALUL (democratic organ), February 22

For those who expect sensational decisions in the meeting at Bucharest, we recall the words of Mr. Metaxas, who, glorifying the permanent and tried ties of the countries of the Balkan Entente, said that no new accord could further deepen these ties....

The "Balkanization of Europe", before a sad fear, appears today an ideal of international policy. And the Conference at Bucharest is the symbol of this ideal.

TIMPUL

TIMPUL, Feb. 24.

The official communiqué has again proclaimed with every decision the action of the Balkan Entente, recalling the ideal of peace which has inspired it from the start. In the service of this ideal is desired the collaboration of all the States of the Peninsula on the basis of complete equality and absolute respect of their frontiers.

The accord at Salinika has removed every obstacle toward attaining this result. To the extent that it wishes, Bulgaria may associate in the collaboration for peace and organization of the relations of stability with all its neighbors....

CURENTUL, Feb. 24.

The value of the Balkan Entente Conference which has just terminated consists in the solemn manifestation of a solidarity which overcomes....the little differences of latitude, and finds its expression of the conscience of the friendly and allied countries in the pact of Athens: the conscience that they cannot conduct a positive policy and a policy to serve their own interests except by perfectly harmonizing their objectives.

ROMANIA (new paper supporting present regime), Feb. 24

The communiqué and the declarations of the four Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Rumania made clear the action ahd the objectives of the Balkan Entente with a moving and unanimous dolidarity. However, it is not only a question, I dare say, of an inter-Balkanic action, of friendly and allied States of the Balkan Entente, but of something which exceeds the cycle of their interests and objectives. It is something which interests all Europe....

In this light the action and the decisions taken at the Conference at Bucharest take on, in the face of our disturbed continent, a determined role with a precise action, perfectly coordinated, which will contribute in a decisive measure to the clarification of the European international situation....

LE MOMENT (democratic, in French)

Once again the clear terms of the communiqué point out that "peace, which was a gamble", as Mr. Grégoire Gafencu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, put it, has become an incontestable reality.

UNIVERSUL

UNIVERSUL, Feb. 25.

The official communiqué of the Balkan Entente contains nothing sensational. It can be said that it expressed the sentiment of satisfaction of peoples with clear consciences, knowing they have done their duty....

Solidarity constitutes the strength of the Balkan Entente in the past, and today as well this international organism constitutes a power of resistance.

A proof of this solidarity and perfect unity of views among the four Balkan States lies also in the decision which they have taken at the conference which closed yesterday to give "de jure" recognition to the Government of General Franco.....

INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE (formerly official French organ of National Liberal Party), Feb. 25.

It is beyond doubt that foreign public opinion will register with profound satisfaction the terms of the communiqué with which the Bucharest Conference closed. It will see therein a token of security and an encouragement for the nations which have remained indefectibly faithful to peace, in spite of the ambushes and the imponderables which arise without respite along the road of this peace.

TIMPUL, Feb. 26.

There were....some disappointments mirrored in certain foreign papers when it was noted that the four Governments again proclaimed strongly the principle of political order and intangibility of the frontiers. The disappointments expressed in the comments on the communiqué of the Balkan Conference do nothing but demonstrate a complete recognition of the basic elements upon which may be built a rapprochement among all the Balkan States. They again prove how necessary, for a good understanding of the state of affairs and the possibilities among the interested States, has been the clarification brought by the Conference at Bucharest and how dangerous would be vain illusions....nothing can be constructed upon a chimera.

The four States are convinced of the advantages of an understanding with all neighbors. They know the price of solidarity in all fields and realize the value of reciprocal support in maintaining the national independence of all the States of the Balkan. For this reason they spoke with warm friendship regarding the collaboration which they desire in the interest of all the Balkan peoples. But this friendship and this collaboration cannot be accomplished except on the basis of order....

Personal Letter to Mr. MacVeagh 3/31/39 NE-SVA/SC

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, March 2, 1939.

No. 2824.

Subject: The Meeting of the Council of the Balkan Entente in Bucharest and the Visit to Athens of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
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DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

770.00/596

In reference to my despatch No. 2766 of February 4th, I have the honor to report that after attending the meeting of the Council of the Balkan Entente at Bucharest, Mr. Metaxas, Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, returned to Athens on February 26th, accompanied by Mr. Saradjoglu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, who joined him at Salonika after paying a brief visit to Belgrade.

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Last night, aboard the Turkish Presidential yacht which is to bear Mr. Saradjoglu back to Istanbul, and

which

which is reported to have cost an American lady six million dollars to build and the Turkish government one million to buy, I had a long talk with Mr. Metaxas. While diplomats, officials and the "élite of Athenian society" milled about inspecting everything, from the bridge to the Presidential suite with its private barber shop, black (fake) onyx bath tub, and so forth, he sat in a corner of the dining saloon and told me stories of Lucullus, the Roman gourmet, who he said was also a great general, and discussed the philosophy of history. The simplest of men in his personal desires and mode of life, he took no interest whatever in a costly splendor which seems to have gratified some asiatic craving in Kemal, and told Mr. Mavroudis, his Under Minister for Foreign Affairs, that he thought such luxury was a bad show for a government to put up in the eyes of the starving poor.

I asked Mr. Metaxas whether he felt satisfied with the results of the meeting in Bucharest, and he replied, as was to be expected, in the affirmative. I asked him specially whether anything was done at Bucharest to meet the revisionist aspirations of Bulgaria. To this he responded, with more animation than he showed in connection with the general subject of Balkan unity, that the matter had been discussed and that the Council was unanimously sympathetic with Bulgaria, but that territorial concessions were "out of the question." He emphasized Greece's freedom from minority problems since the exchange of populations, and said his government was ready to accord "every facility" to Bulgaria in her wish to find an exit to the Aegean, short of changing the existing

boundaries

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boundaries between the two states. He said he was prepared to give Bulgaria a free port at Salonika if that would help her. I judged from the tenor of his remarks that he had returned with a feeling of reassurance regarding a cardinal point of Greek policy. In this connection, I may add that the Greek press has noted with pleasure a recently published statement of Mr. Kiosséivanoff, the Premier of Bulgaria, to the effect that now the Balkan states have but "one common frontier."

Our conversation then ranged further afield. Mr. Metaxas said that he felt the peak of the European crisis was passed, so far as Spain was concerned. He did not think that any special problems facing Yugoslavia and Rumania at present were of a nature to loosen the bonds cementing the Balkan Entente. He belittled the dangers inherent in the existence of "unredeemed" populations in these countries, and pointed out that in Central Europe, where no such exchange of populations has taken place as was effected some years ago between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey, the taking over of territory largely but not wholly inhabited by a minority, such as Sudeten Czechoslovakia, necessarily creates a new minority problem in the conquering country. For this reason he thought Germany would not pursue further the tactics employed last year. (The Department may remember, however, that last year at this time Mr. Metaxas thought Germany would not attack Czechoslovakia. See my despatch No. 2170 of March 13, 1938, entitled "Views of the Greek Dictator on the European

pean Situation.") He laughed at the Italian pretensions to French territory, and while characterizing the desire for a share in the Suez Canal and control of the railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa as "reasonable," he said the exaggerated means employed to obtain such minor concessions was purely "Italian temperament." The only time when he pursed his lips and seemed doubtful was when I asked him whether he thought the next crisis precipitated from Berlin would be in connection with Poland and the Ukraine. He merely said, "La Pologne?" and went off into a brief reverie. In regard to Germany's colonies he said that he thought the allies would have done well to let her keep them after the war, to provide an outlet for the immense vitality which is bursting all her bonds. I said I wondered whether colonies were really of much economic value to such a state, since Germany had done so little with hers before the war, and whether after all this question is not one simply of prestige. To this he replied, with the ready laugh which brightens so much of his conversation, that he thought Hitler had scored when he asked why, if the colonies are of no value, the allies make such a fuss over giving them back.

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After the above, the Department will not be surprised to learn that the controlled Greek press has not only unanimously hailed the Conference at Bucharest as a step in advance in the cause of general peace and Balkan unity, but has given no inkling that anything may have happened during the past year to alter the common outlook of the Entente's member states. This is indeed the official

view.

view. But I have so far failed to find a single foreign observer to say that it agrees with that of the Greek people. Despite the paeans in the press, Mr. Metaxas's voyage to Bucharest and his supposedly triumphant return have been received with apathy, and the announced results of the Conference with scepticism. To the great majority, whose suspicions of Yugoslavia, indifference toward Rumania, and fear of Bulgaria were not materially altered in the four years of the Balkan Entente's existence before the annus mirabilis of 1938, efforts to whip up enthusiasm for it in 1939 seem very much like flogging a dead horse. Most Greeks apparently do not forget that despite the existence of the Entente, the Yugoslav-Bulgar pact of friendship was struck without previous notice to Greece, and they are still without information on last fall's conversations at Nish between the Premiers of those two neighboring states. Even locally the Pact thus seems to them but a feeble guarantee of security. On a larger scale, though the Austrian Anschluss and the Munich settlement have both occurred since the last meeting of the Council; though Yugoslavia and Rumania now lie within the gravitational field of the great nova which has burst with such éclat in the European firmament; though the Little Entente, comprising two members of the Balkan groupment has been hopelessly shattered by this explosion; and though both of these members have clearly shown their realization of their new position by engaging deeply in central European politics while Turkey and Greece remain Mediterranean in outlook, the Greek public is asked to

believe

believe that the Balkan Entente is still the "indissoluble unit" it was proclaimed to be when France consolidated the newly awakened Balkan desire for independence to reinforce the "cordon sanitaire." But the Greek public is not impressed. It believes that the Balkan Entente is all right so far as it goes, but that it doesn't go far, and less far now than ever. Even the old Venizelist fear as to its possible binding commitments would seem largely to have vanished since Yugoslavia embraced realism and took to playing with the Bulgars on her own.

But though the Greeks are sceptical, it would seem that the British still regard the Entente as a possibly useful weapon, if one of doubtful strength, in their ill-stocked armory against German advance. I reported a short time ago (see my despatch No. 2715 of January 31, 1939) the British Minister's statement to the effect that "the great question of the moment is whether the Yugoslavs are going to get out." When I asked him, just before the Premier's return from Bucharest, whether he was "satisfied" with the results of the conference in that city, he replied, "Well, at least they kept the Jugs from joining the axis." His evident relief would seem to indicate that this affair was nip and tuck. He was more hearty in regard to Bulgaria. In spite of his recent statement to me that "the way to handle the Bulgars is to give them the southern Dobrudja," he said this time that "the Bulgars will be all right," and that "it is too dangerous to start giving away anybody's territory in this region."

Thus

Thus lip-service to the Entente continues officially in Greece, coupled with a general disbelief in its value, and British determination to foster it for what it may be worth. The Turkish alliance which, on account of the visit of Mr. Saradjoglu, shares with the Entente the publicity of the day, is a wholly different affair. In this case we have the same official hymns of praise, but backed up by a nation-wide conviction that the alliance is not only a "good thing," generally speaking, like the factitious Entente, but specifically something important to Greek security and the general peace as well. If the Greek public remembers that Yugoslavia has entered into relations with Bulgaria outside the framework of the Entente, it also remembers Kemal's salutary warning against any change in Balkan boundaries, and his concentrations in Eastern Thrace during Greece's dangerous days in 1935. Whatever individual Greeks may feel about the Turks--and to call a Greek a "Turkish bastard" is still the superlative in insults--no official praise of the alliance can outrun what the Greek public thinks of it. Hence there has been something genuinely national about the reception accorded to Mr. Saradjoglu which has never been in evidence when Entente meetings have been held here. That the Greek Government itself recognizes this appears from the fact that when the press has mentioned the Balkan Entente and the Turkish alliance in the same sentence, as it has often found occasion to do these past few days, it has put the latter first. It has even, at times, gone further in expressing what is in the mind of the people: "The Greco-

Turkish

Turkish friendship," said the Messager d'Athènes, semi-official organ of the Hellenic Foreign Office, on February 27th (I translate from the French), "is the basis of the new order in the Balkans, its prime condition. On its side, the Greek people is convinced of this. And that is why it has combined in the same homage to the two men whose international activities give the first place to Greco-Turkish collaboration, not only because it is a necessity for the two countries, but because it is a necessity for the whole Balkan Peninsula."

What the Greco-Turkish friendship provides "as a basis for the new order in the Balkans" and "of necessity for the whole Peninsula," is of course that genuine community of interest which is not enjoyed to anything like the same degree by the other states. It is indeed true, as the London Times remarks in its editorial of February 20 on Cooperation in the Balkans, that "In all these states, however much their internal problems differ, there is a common desire to avoid being drawn into the entanglements of ideological fronts, to preserve their independence, and to cooperate increasingly." But such a desire, though it is about all the Times can count on to preserve the Entente, is hardly strong enough to prevent the individual states from flying off at a tangent under the impulsion of the far greater desire for self-preservation. Turkey and Greece are still relatively removed from the mobile and threatening frontiers of Germany, and the British and French fleets represent still the strongest power in the Mediterranean sea. Therefore these two states can still be independent of

"the

"the entanglements of ideological fronts" if they so wish, and they have between them no questions at issue, minority or other, to trouble their domestic alliance. Their marriage can thus be fairly regarded as the rock foundation of the Balkan structure, contributing at least some firmness to the mud-brick fabric above, so long as no earthquake takes place, but being also the only part of the building likely to remain in situ if it does.

In every marriage, however, there is one partner who is more eager than the other, and in this case it is undoubtedly Greece for whom the alliance has the greater appeal. She is at once the weaker and the more exposed. Kemal was an assiduous husband, cruel at first but tender and protecting at the last. Will Inönu carry on from where the Gazi left off? The Greeks have had their fears, and there seems little reason to doubt that Mr. Saradjoglu's present visit is intended to allay these. Of course, Inönu may indeed prove eventually to be more reactionary than his predecessor, but for the moment the Turk presents himself almost as a wooer of the Greek. I translate again from the Messager d'Athènes of February 27th, some remarks of Mr. Saradjoglu to a Greek journalist: "The relations between our two countries are perfect. The Greco-Turkish friendship is for the good of both peoples and it is impossible for you or for us to follow a different policy. I am sure that the Greco-Turkish friendship will never be abandoned. It is a vital necessity for Greece and for Turkey; it is the basis of our foreign policy, as it is the basis of the Balkan Pact which derived from it and is founded on it. Every day

that

that passes adds something to the edifice of our friendship. As far as I can see, I see our peoples always friends and collaborating with each other more and more closely."

So far so good, and the words speak for themselves. But one naturally wonders why Turkey should go to such lengths to allay Greek fears of divorce. It is clear that the alliance makes a good foundation for the Entente, but if this is weak and threatened with destruction, will strengthening the foundations protect the upper walls? or is Greece really of much value to Turkey as an ally, independently of the other members of the Entente? The answer to both questions must surely be in the negative. That Turkey should want to live at peace with this country is understandable, and something to be easily achieved without making an alliance with her "the basis of foreign policy." It would seem that there must be some factor in the situation which is hidden, a factor which makes of a desirable but innocuous friendship something different, to fit the grandiose description of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Perhaps the answer again is England. For her, the alliance between Greece and Turkey, provided always that it is under her aegis, means much more than it can to Turkey individually, since her problem in the Mediterranean is so much vaster. Assuming therefore that Saradjoglu was sincere in describing the Greco-Turkish friendship as the basis of Turkish foreign policy, the statement makes sense if Turkish foreign policy is working on the side of England. On the other hand it would not make sense

if

if Turkey is prepared to side with Germany should things come to a show-down in Europe. For Germany's policy is to divide and conquer while Britain's is to resist by uniting. In this connection there would seem to be a particularly interesting remark in telegram No. 28 of February 24th, 1 p.m., addressed to the Department by our Minister in Bucharest. Mr. Gunther alludes to "the whispered statement of a member of the Turkish delegation to the effect that Turkey will stand by Britain in the event of trouble, and if Italy starts anything in the Mediterranean she will lose her island possessions plus Albania." In such a picture Greece surely has a place, and one which is perhaps large enough to justify Mr. Saradjoglu's visit and remarks.

Respectfully yours,

Lincoln MacVeagh.

Lincoln MacVeagh.

File No. 710

LMacV/jr

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

March 24, 1939.

Summary of despatch no. 220 from Legation at Sofia dated March 8, 1939.

Subject: Bulgarian Comment on the Balkan Entente Conference

The conference of the Balkan Entente at Bucharest was followed in Sofia with keen interest. The Bulgarian Prime Minister declared in a Turkish newspaper that he considered the Balkan Entente an "excellent mechanism which insures peace and solidarity in this part of the world." Bulgaria's attitude with regard to her neighbors may be described as solidarity with the other Balkan States and the hope that her claims can be solved by pacific methods.

While en route to Bucharest from Ankara the Turkish Foreign Minister had a long discussion with M. Kiosseivanoff in Sofia. It is learned that M. Saraçoğlou made a statement during the conference asking for consideration of Bulgarian claims in the southern Dobrudja and for an outlet on the Aegean. In this connection Bulgaria does not contemplate any immediate rectification of her frontiers with Yugoslavia; and as regards Turkey she has no claims at all.

After

After M. Saraçoğlou's exposition during the conference, Greece and Rumania categorically refused to consider any territorial concessions. Significantly, however, the Rumanian Foreign Minister received the Bulgarian Minister in Bucharest before the conference was closed to inform him of the work of the meeting.

There is a difference in emphasis between the two groups -- Rumania-Greece and Turkey-Yugoslavia, the latter holding a more conciliatory attitude towards Bulgaria -- and thus, in the fashionable parlance of the day, there emerges the Belgrade-Sofia-Ankara axis. It seems that the new Yugoslav Cabinet has not modified the Stojadinović policy of friendship with Bulgaria; in the other direction the meeting between the Bulgarian Prime Minister and the Turkish Foreign Minister was exceedingly cordial. It is therefore believed that the effort of Yugoslavia and Turkey to obtain some satisfaction for Bulgaria is sincere -- especially as the concessions in question are to be made at the expense of two other states, Rumania and Greece. The Bulgarian public is not in sympathy with M. Kiosseivanoff's cautious and passive attitude on questions of foreign policy. Government circles, however, are pleased that in Bucharest the other Balkan powers took note of an accurate and complete statement of Bulgaria's claims. "In its

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essential lines the Balkan policy of Bulgaria continues unchanged."

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No.220 Sofia, March 8, 1939.

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Subject: Sofia unofficial comment on
Balkan Entente Conference.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MAR 22 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
MAR 27 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 31 1939
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

RECEIVED

770.00/601

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

770.00

The conference of the Balkan Entente which was opened at Bucharest February 20 and closed two days later was, I have the honor to report, followed with keen interest in Bulgaria, as it was expected to reveal the attitude of the neighboring countries on the question of revision of frontiers.

Before the conference, Mr. Kiosseivanoff had made the following statements to the Editor of the Turkish papers....

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papers DJOUMHOURIET and REPUBLIQUE:

> "I have always declared that in my opinion the Balkan Entente, although Bulgaria is not a member of it, is an excellent mechanism which insures peace and solidarity in this part of the world. As I assured Mr. Metaxas when we signed the Salonika agreement, an understanding between the Balkan nations is a protection for the frontiers of the Peninsula, apart from the question of frontiers between the several Balkan States. Although Bulgaria is not a member of the Balkan Entente, our policy with our neighbors is one of peace and understanding."

To the question whether Bulgaria would adhere to the Balkan Pact, the Prime Minister's reply was:

> "We are friends with the States of the Balkan Entente and have no doubt that the questions involving our national claims can be solved in an atmosphere of friendship. I would never approve of a policy under which foreign and distant factors would be brought into the affairs of the Balkan family, which must be settled in a spirit of friendship among the respective Balkan countries themselves."

These statements define the attitude of Bulgaria with regard to her neighbors at the present moment; by a loyal attitude she hopes that her claims, which she considers a purely Balkan problem, could be solved by pacific methods, and affirms at the same time her solidarity with the other Balkan States.

Although the Bulgarian Government had not raised any revisionist claims before the conference, it is understood that in discussing the possibility of Bulgaria's adherence to the Balkan Pact, the conference heard a statement from Mr. Saracoglou regarding Bulgarian conditions, to wit, consideration of Bulgarian claims in the Southern Dobrudja and a territorial outlet to the Aegean. Mr. Saracoglou had had a long discussion with

the Bulgarian Prime Minister while en route to Bucharest and was well informed on the attitude of Bulgaria. In this conversation Mr. Kiosseivanoff had explained the Bulgarian problems with the surrounding countries. As regards Yugoslavia, the Bulgarian Government does not contemplate an immediate rectification of frontiers, in view of the present situation with a minor King and a Regency. In this connection, it may be observed that the agreement on the question of property in the frontier zone prepared by the Bulgarian-Yugoslav Mixed Commission (see despatch No. 214, February 11, 1939) was signed by Mr. Kiosseivanoff and Mr. Yourichitch, Yugoslav Minister in Sofia, on March 7, 1939, after approval by the two Governments. As regards Turkey, Bulgaria has no claim at all and would even consent to a small rectification in favor of Turkey if she is given an outlet on the Aegean.

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In the discussion following Mr. Saracoglou's exposition of the Bulgarian point of view, Greece and Rumania refused categorically to consider any cession of territories. The communiqué published after the conference reaffirms the solidarity of the members of the Balkan Entente and their determination to maintain the integrity of their frontiers, and this caused some disappointment in Sofia. At the same time the declaration expresses the hope for a closer cooperation between all Balkan States. It is significant that Mr. Gafencu, President of the Balkan Entente, received the Bulgarian Minister in Bucharest before the conference was closed, in order to inform him on the work of the meeting and to express the

desire...

desire of the four Balkan States for close relations with Bulgaria. In Sofia this is considered as an effect of the Salonika agreement and an acknowledgment of Bulgaria's equality in Balkan affairs.

The press in the neighboring countries reflected divergent attitudes as regards Bulgaria and her claims. The most friendly comments appeared in the Turkish press, the SON POSTA going so far as to declare that "it would not be wise to refuse reasonable concessions." As the press is strictly controlled in Turkey these comments are considered in Sofia as expressing the willingness of Turkey to back Bulgaria's claims with regard to Rumania at least.

The same attitude is attributed here to Yugoslavia, although the press comments in Belgrade were more reserved. It is explained in Yugoslav quarters, however, that the passage of the communiqué regarding the "absolute respect of frontiers" need not be taken too strictly.

The solidarity of the Balkan Entente as regards the protection of their present frontiers was very strongly stressed in the Rumanian and Greek press. There is thus a difference in emphasis between the two groups Rumania-Greece and Turkey-Yugoslavia, the latter holding a more conciliatory attitude. The line Belgrade-Sofia-Ankara, mentioned in the Prime Minister's speeches (see despatch No. 207, January 31, 1939), thus emerges more clearly. It is understood that the new Yugoslav Cabinet has not modified Mr. Stoyadinovitch's policy of friendship with Bulgaria and it seems that the King's visit to Prince

Paul....

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Paul has further clarified this point. On the other hand, the very cordial meeting between Mr. Kiosseivanoff and Mr. Saracoglou will be followed within a few days by Mr. Kiosseivanoff's visit to Ankara, strengthening the same line of policy. It is believed that the effort of Yugoslavia and Turkey to obtain some satisfaction for Bulgaria is sincere, especially as the concessions in question are to be made at the expense of the other two States, and that Bulgaria can count on their support in the future.

For the time being there is a certain disappointment in Bulgaria following the Bucharest meeting, although it is realized how difficult it is to obtain a revision of frontiers except under conditions of stress. In this respect the results of the Munich conference, interpreted here as the opening of a new era in Europe, favorable to an equitable revision of treaties, had raised exaggerated expectations. Mr. Kiosseivanoff's Cabinet has unceasingly been accused of being inactive and missing opportunities which other countries, such as Hungary, utilized to promote their revisionist claims. That Bulgaria was not offered such opportunities and that more important world problems involving the interests of great powers are at issue, is little realized in a country where national problems are very acutely felt. For this reason public opinion is not in sympathy with the cautious and "passive" attitude of Mr. Kiosseivanoff in questions of foreign policy with the result that he is now criticized more than ever on this score.

As if to give an outlet to national feeling, the censorship which has always been very strict in questions

of....

of foreign policy and Bulgarian minorities, has recently been allowing the papers to publish articles on the Dobrudja and to reproduce the comments of foreign papers on the same subject. The press also carried detailed resumés of a lecture by Professor Romansky at the Academy of Science on "The Ethnical Character of the Dobrudja." In the local comments on the Balkan Entente conference and the Dobrudja, the attitude of the American Delegation to the Peace Conference and its project regarding this province were recalled.

Notwithstanding the disappointment noted in the reaction of public opinion, which had become impatient for some definite achievement, Government circles are pleased that at the Bucharest meeting the four Balkan powers took note of an accurate and complete statement of the claims of Bulgaria. The discussion of the Bulgarian problem in that light and the reaction of the Balkan States as analyzed above are considered sufficient for the time being. In its essential lines the Balkan policy of Bulgaria continues unchanged.

Respectfully yours,

Ray Atherton

File 710
RA/MM

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 862.50/1045 FOR Despatch #51

FROM Estonia (Leonard) DATED March 3,1939
TO NAME

1—1127

REGARDING: Recent Baltic Conference at Kaunas, Lithuania. Conversation with Minister Charles Tofer at Berlin during which he said that these conferences seemed to be serving their purpose.

770.00/602

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

April 6, 1939.

Summary of despatch no. 511 from Legation at Belgrade dated March 9, 1939.

Subject: The Balkan Entente Meeting as Viewed from Belgrade

On returning from Bucharest to Athens, General Metaxas spent a day in Belgrade, during which time he participated in various social affairs. Similarly, M. Saraçoğlou remained 36 hours in Belgrade on his journey from Bucharest to Istanbul.

The well-known newspaper correspondent, M. W. Fodor, told Mr. Joyce that the Balkan Entente Conference "was an eminent success". He declared that previous conferences had accomplished very little, largely due to the presence and dominating influence of M. Stojadinović, whom the Greek, Rumanian, and Turkish Governments suspected of being overly sympathetic to the Rome-Berlin axis and of actually passing on to that quarter what was said in the deliberations of the conference.

Fodor learned from Turkish sources that that country is now completely on the side of the western democracies, and that Greece is also on the side of England. He stated that

both

both the Greeks and Turks are showing an increasing "animus, distrust, and fear of Italy, and that they had said should Mussolini start a conflict the Italians would immediately be kicked out of the Dodecanese".

Mr. Fodor believes that Yugoslavia, since the fall of Stojadinović, has become a more enthusiastic and loyal member of the Balkan Pact. Due to its exposed geographic position, Yugoslavia would make a supreme effort to remain neutral in a general European conflict, but Fodor is of the opinion that it would eventually enter on the side of England and France, and of Turkey, Greece, and Rumania.

Eu:Coe:AMR.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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No. 511. Belgrade, March 9, 1939.

Subject: Balkan Entente Meeting at Bucharest;
Visit to Belgrade of Turkish Foreign
Minister and King Boris of Bulgaria.

CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MAR 27 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
APR 11 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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APR 13 1939
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 26 1939
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Distribution Instructions

770.00/603

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

With reference to the Legation's telegram No. 16, of February 25, 1 p.m., with regard to the recent meeting of the Balkan Entente at Bucharest, I have the honor to report further on this meeting, as well as to report on the visit to Belgrade of the Turkish Foreign Minister as well as of King Boris of Bulgaria.

En route to Bucharest from Athens, the Greek Prime Minister, General Metaxas, arrived at Belgrade in the morning

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morning of February 18 and remained in this city until his train left for Bucharest early in the morning of the next day. General Metaxas received representatives of the foreign and domestic press at the Greek Legation on the afternoon of February 18 and made a short statement, which
1/. was broadcast by the Belgrade radio station. A copy of his statement, in translation, is attached hereto. It will be noted that General Metaxas spoke warmly of Graeco-Yugoslav relations and of Balkan solidarity and friendship. The Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs gave a dinner that evening in honor of General Metaxas, to which were invited the Yugoslav Prime Minister, certain Yugoslav cabinet members, high officials of the Yugoslav Foreign Office, the Rumanian Ambassador, the Turkish Minister, and the Greek Minister. After dinner General Metaxas was taken to a gala ball at the Royal Guard Officers' Club by Premier Cvetković and Minister for Foreign Affairs Cincar-Marković. This ball was attended by Princess Olga and her sister, the Duchess of Kent, as well as by the entire Belgrade diplomatic corps. The Greek Prime Minister and Madame Metaxas boarded the train for Bucharest at two o'clock in the morning. Belgrade newspapers on February 18 and February 19 greatly played up the visit of General Metaxas, and editorial comment spoke of the intimate relationship between the Yugoslav and Greek royal houses, the close political relations between the two Governments, the necessity of Balkan solidarity, etc.

Foreign Minister Cincar-Marković returned to Belgrade from Bucharest on February 24. He was accompanied by Turkish

Foreign

Foreign Minister Saradjoglu, who remained in Belgrade for some thirty-six hours before departing for Istanbul. During his visit here he was received by Prince Regent Paul and engaged in long conversations at the Yugoslav Foreign Office. In the evening of February 24, in the presence of Prime Minister Cvetković, the Turkish Foreign Minister met representatives of the Yugoslav and foreign press at the
2/. Turkish Legation. There is enclosed herewith a translation of the prepared statement which he read to the correspondents. It will be noted that Mr. Saradjoglu spoke enthusiastically of the Balkan Entente Conference, the vital importance and reality of the Balkan Pact, etc. His visit to Belgrade was
3/. greatly played up in the local press. A copy, in translation, of an editorial appearing in the February 25 issue of SAMOUPRAVA is attached herewith and is characteristic of the press comment regarding Mr. Saradjoglu's visit.

As reported in the Legation's telegram No. 16, of February 25, 1 p.m., Mr. M. W. Fodor, Central European correspondent of the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS and of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, was at Bucharest during the Balkan Entente Conference and spent some days in Belgrade immediately after the termination of the Bucharest meeting. As the Department is aware, Mr. Fodor, the author of "Plot and Counter-Plot in Central Europe" (which appeared under the title of "South of Hitler" in England), is generally regarded as an eminent authority on Central Europe and the Balkans. He has valuable sources of information and intimate contacts among the politicians and journalists in this part of the world. Mr.

Fodor

Fodor called at the Legation on February 25 and furnished interesting information about the conference at Bucharest. He said that the principal sources of his information were a Greek newspaper publisher who attended the conference and is very close to General Metaxas and a Turkish newspaper publisher and editor who was at Bucharest with the Turkish delegation. Mr. Fodor also had a conversation with the Turkish Foreign Minister at Belgrade on February 25.

Mr. Fodor stated that there was no doubt whatever but that the Balkan Entente Conference at Bucharest was an eminent success, and that one evidence of this was the short duration of the meeting, an indication that there was such a unanimity of points of view between the representatives of the four countries that quick agreement on all matters was possible. Mr. Fodor said that General Metaxas is a very vain man and that he had always played a minor rôle at previous meetings of the Balkan Entente because he was entirely overshadowed by Prime Minister Stojadinović of Yugoslavia. At the recent meeting, however, General Metaxas was the only Prime Minister and he was the ranking personality present. Incidentally, Mr. Fodor stated that, although he had known General Metaxas for many years, he was not able to see him at Bucharest because he had written an article for the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN to the effect that General Metaxas would soon fall from power, due principally to conflict between his known pro-German sympathies and the reorientation of Greek foreign policy away from Germany and Italy and toward the Western democracies. Mr. Fodor

went

went on to say that previous conferences of countries signatory to the Balkan Pact had accomplished very little, due principally to the presence and dominating influence of Dr. Stojadinović, whom the Greek, Rumanian and Turkish Governments suspected as being overly sympathetic to the Rome-Berlin axis and of actually passing on to the Germans and the Italians what was said in the deliberations of the Balkan Entente Conferences. Mr. Fodor stated that at previous meetings Dr. Stojadinović had always insisted on at least including in the communiqué some friendly gesture toward the Governments at Rome and Berlin. At the meeting at Bucharest, however, Mr. Fodor stated that Yugoslav Foreign Minister Cincar-Marković had virtually nothing to say and had made no effort to stand in the way of the attempts to consolidate a spirit of complete Balkan solidarity and independence.

Mr. Fodor said that he was informed by Turkish sources that Turkey was now completely on the side of the Western democracies and that in case of a general conflict Turkey would march at the side of England and France. He said that the Greeks had informed him that Greece was also on the side of England and would oppose, insofar as was possible, further German and Italian penetration and influence in Greece. Mr. Fodor stated that both the Greeks and Turks were showing an increasing animus, distrust, and fear of Italy, and that they had said should Mussolini start a conflict the Italians would immediately be "kicked out of the Dodecanese as well as out of Albania." Mr. Fodor expressed the opinion that

Rumania,

Rumania, although at present in a weak military position and in a chaotic political situation, would do everything she could to resist German and Italian economic and political penetration. He said that the Rumanians clearly realized the dangerous position of their country at the present time and that Rumanian policy, although it would be most careful to refrain from antagonizing Berlin and, secondarily, Rome, would be increasingly directed toward Balkan solidarity as opposed to Italian and German influence.

Mr. Fodor continued by stating that it was his opinion that Yugoslavia would continue its present policy of refraining from doing anything of an overt nature which might antagonize Berlin and Rome. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that Yugoslavia, since the fall of Stojadinović, has become a more enthusiastic and loyal member of the Balkan Pact, which in reality stands for "the Balkans for the Balkan people" and resistance to German and Italian economic and, particularly, political penetration in this part of the world. Due to her exposed geographic position and her common frontiers with both Germany and Italy, in case of a general European conflict Yugoslavia would make a supreme effort to remain neutral. Mr. Fodor said that it was his firm opinion, however, that Yugoslavia would inevitably enter a general European war on the side of England and France, and of Turkey, Greece and Rumania. With this estimate of Yugoslavia's present position I am in entire accord.

It will be noted that the above information on the results of the meeting at Bucharest is not of a precise

and

and finite nature, nor is there anything relating to actual decisions taken or policies adopted and elaborated. Mr. Fodor stressed the importance of the Conference, however, as representing a real step forward in the sense that there was a spirit of cooperation and a new feeling of confidence and hope in the air, hope that somehow the tide was turning against the totalitarian states and that the Balkan countries could not only count on mutual support in maintaining their freedom and independence but, also, could now definitely begin to rely on assistance from the Western democracies. In evaluating Mr. Fodor's estimates, it should not be forgotten that he is a Hungarian Jew, who is extremely anti-fascist and anti-Nazi.

On February 28 King Boris of Bulgaria arrived in Belgrade en route to Sofia from an extended visit to Italy and Switzerland. He and his suite were entertained at dinner at the White Palace that night by Prince Regent Paul. It is significant that young King Peter II, who is now fifteen years old, was present at the dinner. I believe that this is the first time that the young King has attended any such function, and it would appear that Prince Paul's idea is to start to bring forward the young King, in preparation of his coming of age in September 1941.

During the conversation I had on February 28 with the Chief of the Political Section of the Yugoslav Foreign Office, Dr. Smiljanić referred to the visit of King Boris in relation to the Balkan Entente and to Bulgaria's position vis-à-vis Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania and Turkey.

Dr.

Dr. Smiljanić stated that it was obviously to the interest of the entire Balkan area that Bulgaria should cooperate with and perhaps later adhere to the Balkan Pact. He spoke of Yugoslavia's efforts toward conciliating Bulgaria and of the leading part this country had taken in bringing about the Saloniki Agreement of last August. He said that Yugoslavia and Turkey are the two members of the Balkan Entente which are in the best position to deal with Bulgaria inasmuch as Bulgaria has no strong territorial claims against either of these two countries as she has against both Rumania and Greece. Dr. Smiljanić hinted that the situation of the Balkan Entente vis-à-vis Bulgaria was extremely delicate due to the potentially aroused state of Bulgarian public opinion, which demands territorial revision at the expense of Rumania and Greece, and to the difficulties of the Kiossievanov Government in keeping this public opinion under control. Dr. Smiljanić said that undoubtedly King Boris and Prince Paul would talk over the entire matter of Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente and of Bulgaria's territorial claims.

It is regretted that no more precise information can be reported to the Department on these developments in Yugoslavia, and in the Balkans in general. The Yugoslav Foreign Office, however, either refuses to inform diplomatic missions in Belgrade of current developments or the Foreign Office itself is uninformed as to what is discussed between the various heads of states in this part of the world. The air is full of sensational rumors, most

of

of which are in direct conflict. It is only possible, therefore, to obtain bits of information from time to time and, by adding them together, an approximation of the truth is arrived at.

Respectfully yours,

2 Carbon Copies
Received

Robert P. Joyce,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosures:
1. Translation of article from VREME of February 19, giving statement of Greek Prime Minister.
2. Translation of article from AVALA of February 25, giving statement of Turkish Prime Minister.
3. Translation of editorial from SAMOUPRAVA of February 25, commenting on visit of Turkish Prime Minister.

File No. 710

RPJ/hln

Copies to Bucharest, Athens, Istanbul, Sofia, and Berlin.

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 511, dated March 9, 1939, from the Legation at Belgrade, entitled, "Balkan Entente Meeting at Bucharest; Visit to Belgrade of Turkish Foreign Minister and King Boris of Bulgaria."

TRANSLATION FROM SERBIAN

VREME, February 19, 1939.

The President of the Greek Council of Ministers received representatives of the foreign and domestic press in the Greek Legation on the evening of the eighteenth and stated the following:

"I am deeply touched by the friendship which has been shown. The proofs of this friendship are the expressions of the traditional feelings which so intimately link Yugoslavia and Greece.

"I had the honor to express my feelings of profound respect to His Royal Highness Prince Regent Paul, who deigned to graciously receive me. This will remain in my grateful memory.

"The conversations which I had the pleasure of having with the President of the Council, Mr. Cvetković, and with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Cinvar-Marković, during which I had the opportunity to appreciate the supreme qualities of my interlocutors, were inspired with great cordiality. We noted that our viewpoints on all the questions which interest both Yugoslavia and Greece, these two friendly and allied nations, were identical and that a cordial collaboration existed with the other allies of the Balkan Entente--Rumania and Turkey.

"I can assure you in advance that the meeting of the Council of the Balkan Entente, which will be held the day after tomorrow in Bucharest, will once more confirm the full solidarity and unity of our four friendly and allied countries.

"I depart entirely satisfied and take with me the best impressions of my brief stay in your capital. I am happy to have been able to note its considerable improvement.

"I also wish to extend the most cordial greetings to the whole Yugoslav nation in the name of Greece and in my own name, and to renew the assurances of our unalterable friendship."

Trans: ast

Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 511, dated March 9, 1939, from the Legation at Belgrade, entitled, "Balkan Entente Meeting at Bucharest; Visit to Belgrade of Turkish Foreign Minister and King Boris of Bulgaria."

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

AVALA, Belgrade,
February 25, 1939.

DECLARATION MADE BY MR. SARADJOGLU, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF TURKEY, ON FEBRUARY 24, 1939, AT THE TURKISH LEGATION, BELGRADE, TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PRESS, IN THE PRESENCE OF MR. D. CVETKOVIC, YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER.

I am entirely satisfied with mu successful journey. I had a feeling, in Bucharest, that it was not with representatives of the four Balkan states that I had to work--but with four good friends, or, one might even say, with four brothers.

We parted with a clear conscience and an easy mind, as each of us believed that we had done our duty.

I would like to draw your attention to a fact, to a reality: our Balkan Pact is the only safe foundation for each of our states.

It happens sometimes that theories are evolved which are subsequently followed by facts, but sometimes the facts come first and then the theories. What we need is a purpose, an ideal which will be common to us all. I foresee this ideal in the form of a general systhesis wherein all our nations and every individual, city-dweller or peasant, would live like brothers sharing an ever growing prosperity. In order to reach such an ideal, should one begin with facts or with theories? One can argue endlessly on the subject. Therefore, let us drop discussions and take reality as it is. That reality is the Balkan Pact. It is for you, Gentlement of the Press, to build up theories and to work to the end that the Balkan Pact become the property not only of the state, of intellectuals and of the ruling class, but also of every individual in our nations.

I have been received by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent and that was a great honor for me. I will always have in my heart feelings of respectful affection for the Prince. I am naturally aware that I have made precious acquaintances with the members of the government. Every time that there is an opportunity, I will not hesitate to profit by these friendships and these personal and friendly contacts which are so important in politics.

I am leaving this evening with a feeling of great admiration for your country and with an easy mind as regards the solidity of the Balkan Entente.

Trans: ast

Enclosure No. 3 to despatch No. 511, dated March 9, 1939, from the Legation at Belgrade, entitled, "Balkan Entente Meeting at Bucharest; Visit to Belgrade of Turkish Foreign Minister and King Boris of Bulgaria.

TRANSLATION FROM SERBIAN

SAMOUPRAVA, Belgrade,
February 25, 1939.

Visit of Mr. Saradoglu, Turkish Prime Minister, to Belgrade.

"We wish once more to mention the importance of this visit, which really was a beautiful manifestation of Turkish-Yugoslav friendship, which represents, within the frame of the Balkan Entente, an achieved ideal and a great political gain. Although our two countries have no common frontier, they have common interests. Common sense and political wisdom have invariably built an understanding on both sides in regard to full solidarity and perfect friendship between the two countries and the two nations, in such a way as to have become a tradition.

"Future generations will follow this tradition and will give it even more weight and back it with even more enthusiasm. Young Greeks, Turks, Rumanians and Yugoslavs will in the future continue this Balkan action which is now on a solid foundation. They will not find a desert in the Balkans, as the case was in 1909 and in 1918, when the greatest Balkan idealists appeared in the eyes of the public opinion of Europe as utopists speaking about some ideal Balkans in which nobody in Europe believed."

The paper ends by saying that the Balkan Entente is the realization of a century-long dream of the best soms of the Balkan nations, and that the great Balkan family is now satisfied and that nothing can divide it.

"This is why," concludes the SAMOUPRAVA, "the visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey was welcomed with such joy and greeted with sympathy by the entire country."

Trans: ast

EU
NE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EG
This message must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (C)

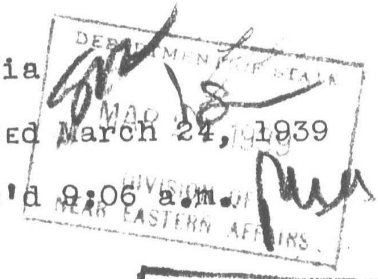
FROM Sofia

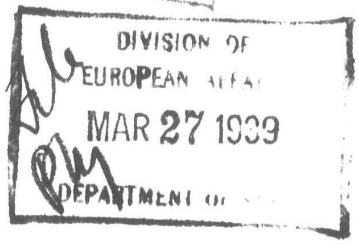
Dated March 24, 1939

Rec'd 9:06 a.m.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 28 1939
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MAR 27 1939
DEPARTMENT OF STATE





Secretary of State,

Washington.

11, March 24, midnight.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

770.00 note

The Prime Minister received me shortly after the details of the Rumanian-German accord had been confirmed here.

He first discussed his visit to Turkey saying that in reply to the Turkish Foreign Minister's insistence on some form of Bulgarian cooperation in the Balkan Pact he had reviewed his pleadings of the last four years (with the great powers as well) for some formula which would appease Bulgarian aspirations and permit Balkan unity both political and economic in (?) of outside aggression. He told the Turks that it was now too late to negotiate on this question which was shortly confirmed by the announcement that Rumania was negotiating on the basis of a German economic ultimatum and was about to enter into an agreement which would nullify all obligations under the Balkan Pact (see my telegram 3, January 3). He then pointed out

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MAR 28 1939
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two features of the German-Rumanian accord he said were of prime significance for this country, first, that undoubtedly there was a secret supplementary agreement under the terms of which the German delivery of war material was balanced by Rumanian assurances that such armaments would not be used against the German bloc; second, that the specific mention of the Dobrudja, the Banat and Vatradornei in the accord was intended to encourage the view that Rumanian frontiers were guaranteed by Germany but that he personally did not believe this was necessarily so. He added that a German ultimatum to this country would not surprise him, containing inter-alia similar provision for delivery of war material and an undertaking that the German Government in order to meet Bulgarian public opinion would urge Rumania to make certain concessions in southern Dobrudja. In view of the fact that 80 percent of the exports of this country were already going to Germany and that Germany had only to denounce the economic agreement with this country to throw the Bulgarian peasants into revolt, the Prime Minister did not feel a German demand upon this country was necessarily immediate. Nevertheless he considered it inevitable for

Bulgaria

Bulgaria as well as for Yugoslavia, probably with the same proviso as to war material applying to both countries.

The Prime Minister said that he had received the British and French Ambassadors to Turkey and in reply to their asseverations regarding assistance to Bulgaria he had informed them that it was now too late and that repeated speeches and diplomatic activity towards the formation of a democratic bloc was merely accelerating Hitler's preparations for self sufficiency in case of war. The Prime Minister said very confidentially he was struck by how little either the French or British Ambassador understood the questions of Southeastern Europe and he intimated his discussions with the French and British representatives in Sofia had been equally disappointing (I know this has been likewise the view of my Belgian colleague who has had long experience here).

The Prime Minister observed that he probably was not favorably viewed in Germany which I understand results from his attitude at the time of Neurath's visit to Sofia (reported before my arrival in the Legation's despatch 393, June 12, 1937) and to the fact that he has

consistently

consistently maintained an independent Bulgarian policy in the face of persistent opposition. His attitude was one of utter discouragement even though his Government may be able to carry on.

ATHERTON

GW:HPD

Central File: Decimal File 770.00, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Balkan States And The World, August 12, 1938 - January 16, 1940. August 12, 1938 - January 16, 1940. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1930-1939. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111392806%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 21 June 2025.